FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Supplement

Soviet Union

Congress of the USSR Peoples Deputies

FBIS-SOV-89-101S
Friday
26 May 1989

Soviet Union
SUPPLEMENT
Congress of the USSR People's Deputies

FBIS-SOV-89-101-S 26 May 1989

CONTENTS

Congress of The USSR People's Deputies

USSR Congress of People's Deputies Opens 1
Television Airs Opening Session *[Moscow TV]* 1
Gorbachev Gives Second Session Speech *[Moscow TV]* 17
Yeltsin Declines Presidency *[Moscow TV]* 21
Third Session Sets Voting Procedure *[Moscow TV]* 21
Fourth Session Elects Gorbachev Chairman *[Moscow TV]* 22
PRAVDA Publishes Gorbachev Biography *[26 May]* 23
Congress Credentials Commission Report Published *[PRAVDA 26 May]* 23
Credentials Commission Members Noted *[PRAVDA 26 May]* 26
IZVESTIYA Reports on First Day of Congress *[26 May]* 27
First Day of Congress 'Rivetingly Interesting' *[Nadein in IZVESTIYA 27 May]* 30
'Unprecedented Freedom' Seen in Congress Debates *[TASS]* 31
'Snap' Public Opinion Poll on Congress Published *[IZVESTIYA 25 May]* 31
Television Airs Second Public Opinion Poll *[Moscow TV]* 33
Congress of People's Deputies Begins Second Day 33
Gorbachev Chairs Opening *[TASS]* 33
President's Functions Explained *[TASS]* 33
Soviet of the Union Candidate List *[Moscow Radio]* 34
26 May Morning Session Reported *[Moscow International]* 35
Deputies Discuss Ban on Rallies *[Moscow TV]* 35
Congress Composition Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 37
Professional Duties Release Approved *[Moscow Radio]* 38
Methods of Electing Supreme Soviet *[TASS]* 38
Vote on Professional Status Issue *[TASS]* 39
Warsaw Television Reports Yeltsin, Sakharov Views *[Warsaw TV]* 39

USSR Congress of People's Deputies Opens

Television Airs Opening Session

LD2505094789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0600 GMT 25 May 89

[Relay of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies opening session in the Kremlin Palace of Congressess—live]

[Text] [Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission] Esteemed comrades, people's deputies of the USSR:

I have a great honor. As chairman of the Central Electoral Commission and in accordance with the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honor of opening the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Allow me, first of all, on behalf of the Central Electoral Commission, to cordially congratulate you on your election to the highest organ of state power in our country, as people's deputies of the USSR, and with the great trust which the Soviet people placed in you in that honored and exceptionally responsible mission which is now placed upon you.

The elections and the preparations for them took place in conditions of broad, hitherto unprecedented glasnost and openness, the stormy growth of the working people's political activity. This was particularly convincingly confirmed on Sunday 26 March, when over 172 million Soviet people, almost 90 percent of the people eligible to vote, went to polling stations, expressing, all the diversity of public opinion, to support restructuring. The elections showed that restructuring has become the business of the whole people. Soviet people came out in favor of deepening it further and making changes for the better as soon as possible in all spheres of life. By their novelty and by the high interest of the masses, the elections filled and enriched the face of restructuring. They became a step of fundamental significance in the development of democracy. They moved our society further along the path outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The elections confirmed that the people see in the party of Lenin strength capable of rallying Soviet society, of safeguarding its consolidation, of finding effective ways to resolve the problems that have come to a head and of overcoming difficulties. We have not yet had a more powerful, nationwide referendum in favor of the Communist Party and its course for renewal.

It can be said today that the elections which took place were a major contribution in the practical implementation of reforming the political system, in affirming the soveriegnty of the people. They brought Soviet democracy to a qualitatively new level and will go down in the history of our socialist state as one of the most important levels in the development of all social life. During the course of the election campaign, the Soviet people acquired unique political experience. At a new and extremely crucial and difficult stage of our country's democratic development, candidate deputies were nominated from the bottom up. Thousands of contenders took part in the election, which presented a choice. Millions of voters have only now truly sensed that their vote means a great deal in solving big state issues in the sociopolitical development of the country. The current election campaign presented by no means one single picture. It reflected the whole diversity of the positions, points of view and opinions which exist in our society. It became a unique testing ground in which the new tenets of the USSR Constitution were set into motion for the first time and a principally new law on elections was tested. It mainly enabled the elections to be carried out on a truly democratic basis and a new election practice to be acquired. At the same time, at pre-election meetings, in works collectives, and in the mass media, desires were expressed about the need to amend certain norms and procedures set out in the law. They all deserve attention and require analysis.

Taking into account the experience which has been acquired, it is important to make the necessary alterations to the legislation on the elections so that it may meet more fully the interests of the development of socialist democracy and of strengthening our statehood. All the proposals on these questions which have arrived addressed to the Central Electoral Commission will be passed on by it to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Today, 2,155 people's deputies of the USSR out of the 2,249 who were elected are present at the congress. Detailed information about the results of the elections and the composition of he deputies will be provided by the Credentials Commission which the congress will elect, and to whom the Central Electoral Commission will pass on all the documentation necessary to check the deputies' powers.

I would like to say that in this hall today are workers, kolkhozniks, captains of industry, scientists, cultural figures, military servicemen, people from various professions, people from various generations, representatives of the people who possess great political and intellectual potential. The composition of the deputies reflects the multinational character of our country. In their ranks are representatives of 65 nations and ethnic groups.

The present corps of deputies is faced with solving tasks of state-wide importance. These tasks are entrusted by our constitution, first and foremost to the Congress of People's Deputies, which as the supreme body of state power, is authorized to examine any question attributed to the jurisdiction of the USSR and determines the main policy of the activity of the Supreme Soviet and all other state bodies.

The attention and thoughts of all working people are now focused on the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. Much is expected from it, above all an answer to questions which people are concerned about, questions

connected with the further course of restructuring. Together with your mandates as deputies, the voters gave you, comrade deputies, their belief in a better life, in a prospering and mighty Soviet socialist state.

Allow me to voice the conviction that the Congress of People's Deputies will justify the people's aspirations and that every deputy will contribute his experience, knowledge, and effort to the joint efforts aimed at our society attaining new heights in socioeconomic and spiritual progress.

Comrades, in accordance with Article 110 of the USSR Constitution, I declare the first session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies open. [applause]

[Tolpezhnikov—coming to rostrum] [Opening words indistinct, masked by applause]...this session, I ask you to honor the memory of those who perished in Tbilisi.

[Orlov] Comrades, by many...

[Tolpezhnikov—interrupting] Thank you. A deputy's question. On an instruction from my electors, I demand that it be stated for all to hear now at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies who gave the order to attack peaceful demonstrators in the city of Tbilisi on 9 April 1989 and use poisonous substances against them, and that the nature of these poisonous substances be stated. Tolpezhnikov, a USSR people's deputy from the 293d national territorial Proletarskiy constituency of the city of Riga, Latvia. [applause]

[Orlov] Comrades, proposals on the election of the presidium of our congress have been submitted by many deputies. These proposals have been supported by the assembly of representatives of groups of USSR people's deputies. The floor for proposals on behalf of the assembly of representatives on the composition of the presidium of the congress is given to Deputy Lukin.

[Lukin] Esteemed comrades: As you know, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was given the responsibility of organizing and preparing for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet session. As you know, the work has been done. The assembly of representatives of deputies' groups is putting forward the proposal to elect to the Congress of People's Deputies Presidium: Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee [applause]; and Comrade Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium [applause].

There is also a proposal to elect to the congress presidium Comrade Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission [applause]. In accordance with the USSR Constitution, he opened the first session of the congress. It was decided at the assembly of deputies's groups to send one representative from each republic as a delegate to the congress presidium. The following comrades have been proposed for the congress presidium by the assemblies of deputies from the republics:

Azizbekova, Pyusta Azizagakyzy, director of the Museum for the History of Azerbaijan under the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Academy of Sciences;

Aytmatov, Chingiz, chairman of the board of the Kirgiz SSR Union of Writers and editor in chief of the magazine INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA;

Ambartsumyan, Viktor Amazaspovich, president of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences;

Brazauskas, Algirdas-Mikolas Kaze, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee;

Vorotnikov, Vitaliy Ivanovich, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet;

Gorbunov, Anatoliy Valeriyanovich, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;

Ishanov, Khekim, chief engineer at the Turkmenneft production association in the Turkmen SSR;

Kozhakhmetov, Ibraimzhan, chairman of the Kirov Kolkhoz, Panfilovskiy Rayon, Taldy-Kurgan Oblast, Kazakh SSR;

Kiseleva, Valentina Adamovna, machine operator at the Grodno 60th Anniversary of the USSR Khimvolokno production association in the Belorussian SSR;

Kurashvili, Zeynab Giviyevna, sewing machine operator at the Tbilisi Gildani knitwear production association, Georgian SSR;

Lippmaa, Endel Teodorovich, director of the Institute of Chemical and Biological Physics of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences;

Mukhabatova, Soniyabibi Kushvakhtova, livestock unit team leader at Khayeti-Nav Sovkhoz, Garmskiy Rayon, Tajik SSR;

Nishanov, Rafik Nishanovich, first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee;

Paton, Boris Yevgenyevich, president of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences;

Rotar, Svetlana Anatolyevna, mechanized milking foreman at the Moldova Kolkhoz, Dondyushany Rayon, Moldavian SSR.

Thus, in all 18 comrades are being proposed for the body of the congress presidium.

[Orlov] Allow me to put the proposal to a vote. Everyone in favor of the proposal, of the composition of the proposed presidium, please raise your hands. [calls of "mandates"]

You can use your mandates. Do you want to take the vote again using mandates? Everyone in favor of electing the proposed composition of the presidium please raise your mandates. Please lower them. Against. Abstentions.

Right, the motion is carried virtually [prakticheski] unanimously. I didn't see a single one.

Would those deputies elected please take their seats in the congress presidium.

[Gorbachev] On behalf of the congress presidium, allow me to thank you for the trust you have shown. We will try...[interrupted by applause] we will try to work in full contact—I am confident in this, all the members of the presidium support me—with the congress, with the purpose of successfully conducting this vessel toward the goals that have been set. We need to endorse the agenda and the working procedure of the congress. I would like to inform USSR people's deputies and the congress that yesterday, on your authorization, representatives of delegations—446 people—held a meeting for 9 hours and they discussed these questions in the most thorough way to prepare proposals for you on those issues. On behalf of the meeting of representatives, the floor is given to Deputy Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan, on the issue of the agenda and the working procedures of the congress. Please.

[Nazerbayev] Esteemed comrades people's deputies: Yesterday, at a meeting of representatives of groups of people's deputies, the question of the agenda of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies was comprehensively discussed. Different views on the issue were voiced at the meeting. Following a thorough discussion, a proposal was worked out to put the following questions on the agenda:

1. To elect the mandate commission of the congress.

2. To elect the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

3. To elect the USSR Supreme Soviet.

4. To elect the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

5. On the main guidelines of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy, a report by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

6. A program for the forthcoming activity of the USSR Government. A report by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

7. To approve the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

8. To elect the USSR Committee for Constitution Supervision.

9. To approve the chairman of the USSR People's Control, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR procurator general, and the USSR chief state arbiter.

10. miscellanea.

On behalf of the meeting of representatives of people's deputies groups, I propose to approve this agenda of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. As to the congress' working procedures, it is proposed to examine issues in the sequence they were included in the agenda.

[Gorbachev] Thank you, thank you. So, there are the proposals from the conference of representatives.

[Sakharov from the hall] I ask to be given the floor [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] You are welcome. Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, people's deputy, please. [applause]

[Sakharov] Esteemed deputies: I would like to speak in defense of two theses of principle which were laid down in the foundation of a draft agenda elaborated by a group of Moscow deputies after prolonged work, which was also seconded by a number of deputies from the country's other regions. We proceed from the fact that this congress is a historic event in our country's history.

Electors and the people elected us and sent us to this congress so that we would take responsibility for the country's destiny, for the problems it is facing now, and for the prospects of its development. Therefore, our congress cannot be.. . cannot start from elections. Otherwise, it would turn it into a congress of electors. Our congress cannot hand legislative power to a fifth of its composition. The fact that rotation has been stipulated does not change anything; the more so, as, apparently in a haste, the rotation was drafted in such a way that only as few as 36 percent—I am proceeding from the constitution—only 36 percent of the deputies have a chance to be included in the composition of the Supreme Soviet.

It is in connection with this that the first and principled thesis or proposal contained in the draft put forward...

[Unidentified deputy, interrupting] By the Moscow group.

[Sakharov continues]... by the Moscow-based group. I propose adopting as one of the first points of the congress agenda a decree of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. We are going through a revolution. Restructuring is a revolution. And the word decree is the most germane in the given instance. It is the exclusive right of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to pass USSR laws and to appoint the USSR's top officials, including the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Committee for People's Control, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR procurator general, and the USSR chief arbiter. In line with this, the congress... [changes thought] changes should be introduced to the articles of the USSR's Constitutions that deal with the rights of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In particular, this goes for Articles 108 and 111.

The second principled matter which we face is whether we can—whether we have the right—to elect the head of state, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, before there has been debate and discussion of the whole gamut of political issues, which determine the destiny of our country, that we are obliged to examine.

Order always exists, from the start of the discussion, the initial presentation of candidates and their platforms, and then the elections. We would disgrace ourselves in front of our entire people—and this is my profound conviction—if we do otherwise. We cannot do this. [applause] In my speeches I have, on several occasions, voiced support for the candidacy of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [applause] I still maintain that position now, inasmuch as I do not see another person who could lead our country. I do not see it at the present time. My support is of a conditional nature. I think discussion is necessary. We need a report from the candidates because I think that in principle we should bear in mind the alternative principle for all elections at this congress, including for elections of the Supreme Soviet, for the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. That is why I use the word: "candidates"; although, I consider it fully possible that there will not be other candidates. But if there are any, then we will be talking in the plural. The candidates should present their political platform.

If...[changes thought] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the forefather of restructuring—the beginning of the process of restructuring is connected with his name, as well as the leadership of the country during a 4-year period—should also talk about what has happened in our country over those 4 years. He should speak both about the achievements and about the mistakes self-critically. Our standpoint will also depend on that. And, most importantly, he should say what he—and if there are other candidates, then they also should say—what they intend to do in the near future to overcome the extremely difficult situation in our country, and what they will do in the long term. For us [pause] there should be a common...

[Unidentified deputy shouts] What about the agenda? [applause]

[Sakharov continues] a common... [changes thought] I am speaking according to the agenda. I'm sorry. [applause] I am speaking according to the agenda. I consider that...

[Gorbachev interrupting] Andrey Dmitriyevich, that is my fault. Let's reach an agreement on the order of discussion. Speakers should have up to 5 minutes to express themselves, maximum.

[Sakharov] I'm just finishing. I will not list all the questions which I consider necessary for discussion. They are contained in our draft. And , I hope that our delegates are familiar with this draft, but...

[Unidentified deputy shouts] [words indistinct].

[Sakharov] I end by saying that I hope that the congress will be worthy of the great mission which it faces and that it will democratically approach the tasks which it faces.

[Gorbachev] Good. Comrade Meshalkin, just now Comrade Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov raised...I'll give the floor to you later. [heckling voices from auditorium] Just a minute, comrade. Comrades, Gavriil Kharitonovich, I think that we have discussed all questions fairly, with, I would say, great desire and without indifference in the approaches in the final stage. We have shaped ourselves but I think that we will not deprive comrades who in preceeding stages expressed...want to be able to express their point of view to the congress. The business of the congress is to adopt decisions. The main proposal has been introduced here on behalf of all delegations. Therefore, comrades, I ask you simply to express yourselves briefly. If you please, comrade.

[Popov] Thank you Mikhail Sergeyevich. Comrades, yesterday, in a fully democratic atmosphere, at the conference of representatives of delegations, an agenda was adopted which has been reported on here today. We took part in the discussion. We were all given the opportunity to express ourselves. There was voting. Fifteen percent of participants in the conference of representatives expressed themselves in favor of our proposal which we were putting forward. But as Mikhail Sergeyevich rightly said, democracy is democracy and we have the possibility also of addressing the congress. Essentially, the essence of the problem lies in one of the points on the agenda, to put it accurately, and that is whether to conduct discussion and debate and the report before the election of the Supreme Soviet or after the election of the Supreme Soviet. We are introducing...there was the proposal which Andrey Dmitriyevich talked about, and there was a second proposal which was voted on yesterday, that Mikhail Sergeyevich's report should be heard out as a third point on the agenda after his election—from which proceeds today's idea that election by the congress of the Supreme Soviet should take place immediately.

The idea proceeds from two assumptions. The first assumption is that both of these assumptions are not anybody's invention, or ill will, nor a wish to neglect the machinery of voting, and so on. They are dicated by the logic of our constitution and it is fully understandable that the comrades have put forward these proposals. According to the constitution we should indeed wait until the Supreme Soviet confirms the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the general procurator, the chairman of the People's Control Committee. Then these candidatures should come to us and we should vote. In this event the logic offered by the agenda is natural, but we think that an amendment to the constitution is essential here, which Andrey Dmitriyevich talked about, to the effect that the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the chairman of the People's Control Committee, and the general procurator, and the chairman of the Supreme Court and the chief arbiter, should be elected here by us at the congress in order to raise the role of the congress as the highest body of power in the country. If this amendment is adopted there will be no need of any kind for a preliminary and early election of the Supreme Soviet in order to give it the opportunity to work and to put forward the candidatures.

The second assumption which is put at the basis of the agenda is that in essence the election of deputies for the Supreme Soviet does not require a debate over their points of view, positions, and so on. It is being proposed in essence that we move away from such principles of democracy as real secret voting and election among alternative candidatures. It is proposed to us that we vote on a list of candidates whose number corresponds to the number of allocated places.

Why has such an idea arisen? Again not because somebody wants to trample on democracy. Once again there is logic here, and once again this is the logic of our constitution. It is written in it that the soviet of the union should be formed by taking into account the regional principle, and all the consequences have arisen from this. Once you have the regional principle, then consequently you have quotas. Natural quotas for the soviet of nationalities were given out at a council of the union, and as a result every region, perfectly naturally, is striving to implement its quota. But a situation arises which requires attention. You see, there are various deputies in every region today. I don't know the situation in many places, but, for example, they are fully familiar to me for Moscow Oblast. Such a well-known figure of our restructuring, as Nikolay Travkin, won in the elections in Moscow Oblast. In the list of representatives from Moscow Oblast, I don't see him as a deputy for the Supreme Soviet. I, for example, consider his participation in the Supreme Soviet essential for restructuring.

[Gorbachev] Finish up.

[Popov] Last thing. Consequently, it is being proposed to us that we simply adopt as a basis what is being proposed by every region. It seems to me that we have all found ourselves in this hall only because there were new elections, elections with a choice of candidates, elections with programs, and so on. The principle of choice needs to be spread to elections for the Supreme Soviet. If this principle is adopted—the principle of choice—then everything will fall into place.

Then there is the possibility of, indeed—on the third point of the agenda—hearing out the report and organizing debates. Yesterday our delegation sat in session for a very long time, until late. And with a majority of votes, three absentions and with two against, it adopted a decision to appeal to the congress with a full list of candidates, which we are putting forward and, which significantly exceeds the number of places made for us. We ask all of you to follow our example and to defend the new democracy. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Good. The floor is given to People's Deputy Meshalkin, an academician from Novosibirsk.

[Meshalkin] Deeply respected comrade deputies, this is the first time that I have had the occasion to speak to such an important and huge forum. Forgive me if I am somewhat flustered. But it seems to me that in gathering today to confirm the agenda, there must, of course, be a justification for the aganda and there must also be a perfectly responsible posing of the questions on the agenda, which was proposed here and approved yesterday by the majority of delegations.

The key point of that agenda is to immediately elect the chairman of the Supreme Soviet or first of all to listen to him. It seems to me that in order to listen to the future chairman of the Supreme Soviet, we need first of all to invest him with authority, because not only a statement of today but also an analysis of what can be done, underpinned by the supreme power, is the Supreme Soviet, in which, of course, the chairman will discuss his report, are absolutely essential for this. After all, we cannot just listen to empty promises. We need [murmurings and applause] something which will be underpinned by deeds. [applause]

Representatives of the Moscow organization, in particular Academician Sakharov, have confirmed that they see no alternative to the person of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. When it is a question of a claimant to the post of chairman or president, then his figure is determined not by what he will say now, but what determined his deeds prior to these elections. Surely we know the prior deeds with which the future claimant to the post of chairman characterized his previous—if only 4 years'—activity. After all, no one makes the U.S. President, right before the election, make promises to the public or to the Senate. There is a lengthy, 4 or 6 month election campaign which paints the deeds of the future president and his promises, and so I suggest that, from the standpoint of the fact that we wanted to have a truly business-like report, a true analysis of what needs to be done, of what needs to be carried out to complete restructuring in our

country. First of all we should invest the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium with the authority of chairman, and then listen to the report. That is my viewpoint.

[Voices in the auditorium] Right! [applause]

[Meshalkin] That's the first thing. [applause] I also propose that the report should be heard after holding elections for the Supreme Soviet. No one is preventing an alternative candidacy from being raised. And the discussion of candidates for the Supreme Soviet is the second question on the agenda, but not the first, and it must now be submitted. I propose that our first session of the congress...

[Voices in the auditorium] [Words indistinct]

[Meshalkin, continues]...should now restrict itself to confirming the agenda and giving the opportunity, in accordance with that agenda, of deciding all the points therein, and on each point of the agenda, when its turn comes to be examined. Similar debates should be organized about which we are now talking. [sentence as heard] I call for a vote in favor of the agenda which was confirmed yesterday by the majority, 85 percent, Comrade Popov says, more than 85 percent. The voting was almost unanimous.

[Voices in the auditorium] [Words indistinct]

[Meshalkin] The representatives of the delegations confirmed this agenda. Thank you. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Good. Comrades, shall we continue the debates? [sounds of approval from hall] One moment, comrades. Shall we continue the debates, or two points of view have formed, and we can discuss them and decide the question of which one we will take? Who is in favor of concluding on this exchange of opinions? Who proposes in support? [shouts from hall] One moment.

[He reads a note handed to him] Fulfilling the mandate of my electors concerning the fact that any elections at the congress must absolutely be on a competitive basis, and on the basis of Articles 48 and 120 of the Constitution, I put forward my own candidacy for election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. I am prepared to speak and set forth my program. Obolenskiy, Aleksandr Mitrofanovich, people's deputy for the Leningrad rural national territorial constituency No 20 of the RSFSR. [applause]

[Mitrofanovich] I have an alternative proposal. I agree that we should first elect Mikhail Sergeyevich as chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium because we know him. We know him for what he has done, for his daily activities involving all kinds of work. I profoundly agree with this.

But I do not agree that we should elect the Supreme Soviet immediately, because there are many people who gather there whom we do not know. In our lives we are now getting back to common sense. To elect people with whom basically we are not acquainted, who are still frequently changing in front of our eyes...[changes thought] I would like to see how they prove their worth here, what their positions are, what sort of civic spirit they have, how bold they are. And only then, once I have listened to them and had a look at them, will I vote for them.

I would like to submit an alternative proposal: first elect the chairman of the Supreme Soviet—I agree with the arguments which have been put forward here—but I would like to propose that the election of the Supreme Soviet itself be postponed until after the debate. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Still, I will steer our ship in the following way: Who is in favor of ending the exchange of opinions on this question? Please vote. Please lower your hands. Who is against? Fine. For the moment I would ask those who are against to lower their hands. We will have to work out the mechanism.

A proposal is submitted to the effect that we make a count of the votes in open voting and instruct a group of people's deputies to do this as follows:

Head of the group: Deputy Aleksandr Grigoryevich Kostenyuk, chairman of the Orenburg Oblast Executive Committee. His assistants: Comrades Platonov, academician, president of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences; Sokolov, senior scientific worker at the Voronezh Elektronika Scientific Production Association.

It is also proposed that the following deputies be part of the group: Amangeldinova, a secondary school teacher in Pavlodar; (Vidiner), director of the Suvorovskiy Sovkhoz, Kazakhstan; Akhunov, deputy director at No 4 School, Uzbekistan; Baranov, chairman of a trade union committee at the Izhorskiy Zavod Production Association, Leningrad; Andreyev, chief engineer of the Moscow State Planning and Surveying Institute, Mosgiprotrans; Yaroshenko, deputy general director of the scientific-production association for tractor building, Moscow; Babich, chairman of the Kiev City Committee of the Agro-Industrial Complex Workers' Trade Union; Bichkauskas, investigator for especially grave cases of the procuracy of the Lithuanian SSR; Giro, commander of a Tu-154 aircraft, Tajikistan; Ibragimov, driller from the Neftyanyye Kamni Marine Directorate of drilling operations, Azerbaijan SSR; Margvelashvili, senior lecturer from Tbilisi State University; (Burskiy), chairman of the Brest Oblast Executive Committee; Reshetnikov, deputy chief of a shop at the Kaluga Engine-Building Production Association; Nazarov, first secretary of the Russkopolyanskiy Rayon Party Committee, Omsk Oblast; Yerokhin, deputy commander of a subunit of the Kiev Military District Army unit; Shlyakota, director of the Vecumi Sovkhoz, Latvia; Aasmyae, head of a sector of the Estonia design and construction bureau; and

Belyayev, dean of the Moscow Physical Engineering Institute. These are comrades whom we have examined and whom we are proposing. Are there objections to these comrades?

[Voices from the auditorium] No, no.

[Gorbachev] No. I put them to the vote. Those in favor of approving the deputies acting as tellers for counting votes in open ballot, please raise your mandates. Please, lower them. Anybody against? No. Abstentions? No. One vote. You too, comrade? [voice from the auditorium, indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Come here and speak.

[Unidentified deputy] Two comrades fell ill today, and they are absent. I am Belyayev, from the eighth district, Moscow. Two comrades have fallen ill. We have two sectors which are not covered. At that conference, two comrades from the reserves were nominated. I would ask the chairman of the voting commission simply to announce these names so that they can be endorsed today by the whole congress.

[Gorbachev] All right. So, who can announce these two names? Who can report on the changes Moscow has introduced? Comrade Kostenyuk? Comrade Kostenyuk! [voice from the floor indistinct]

[Gorbachev] He is coming?

[Voice] His place is too far from here.

[Gorbachev] Well, he is with his delegation. [speaks in aside] And where has he gone to? Ah, here he is. [speaks to hall] It appears his own work place is over there. Please, make your announcement regarding the two comrades.

[Kostenyuk] Mikhail Sergeyevich and comrade deputies, we have a reserve in the persons of Comrade Karasev.

[Gorbachev—interrupting] Where from?

[Kostenyuk] He is head of a department at the Kramatorsk Industrial Institute, the Ukrainian SSR.

[Gorbachev] And the other?

[Kostenyuk] And Comrade Belenkov Yuriy Nikitich, director of the All-Union Cardiology Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences.

[Gorbachev] Comrades, do you accept this replacement?

[Voices] Yes.

[Gorbachev] We are voting for the replacement. Please, raise your mandates. Please lower. Anybody against? Abstentions? I see, (Senkevich) has started to abstain on all issues. So, this has been decided. You would like to say something regarding the voting, please.

[Voice from the floor indistinct]

[Gorbachev] No, no, we will now be counting votes against.

[Boldyrev] Deputy Boldyrev, No 54 constituency from Leningrad. I have a proposal on the mechanism of voting. The fact is that far from all deputies will be able to speak over the time of the congress. Electors must have the right to assess how their representatives have performed at this congress. Electors must have the right to know how their deputies voted on this or that issue, apart from personal ones. For that reason, I submit the proposal of organizing a registered vote [fiksirovannoye golosovaniye] on all issues apart from personal ones. I think that all the technical matters can be resolved. [applause]

[Gorbachev] I think that this proposal is one of the attempts to draw us into things that the congress should not get involved in. [indistinct responses and applause from hall] Now, relying on the experience of open voting which we have, we have selected tellers, and we can move on. But since such a proposal has been made, I have to determine this one way or the other. And so, the first proposal submitted by the presidium. Will all those who are in favor of this voting mechanism please raise their mandate cards. Put them down. Those against? One, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

[Lukyanov] And that one, and that one?

[Gorbachev] No, I have counted those. All you comrades sitting in the stalls, we have counted you. Thirty-one deputies against. Abstentions? Any abstentions? One, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 abstentions. The matter is settled. And so, we have a voting commission [schetnaya kommissiya]. I will ask the comrades to get down to work, and I will return to who is in favor of endorsing the agenda that Comrade Nazarbayev submitted on behalf of the conference of representatives of delegations as it stands, and discussion—at the same time he gave an order of discussion—in the order that the issues are in. I ask the deputies to raise their mandate cards. Put them down. Who is against? Count them, comrades. [long pause as tellers count up] [Gorbachev—addressing person getting up during counting] Sit down, please. [indistinct remarks from deputy] Never mind, once they've counted them all up, sum it up and then [word indistinct]. [extended pause as vote counting proceeds]

[Gorbachev] So, who abstains on this matter, Comrades? How many abstentions on this question?

[Unidentified voice] Let's put this issue to the vote.

[Gorbachev] All right, all right. Just wait a minute. Sit down. Sit down.

[Vote counter] Can we give our report, Mikhail Sergeyevich?

[Gorbachev] Please go ahead.

[Vote counter] The results of the voting, then: against 379, abstentions 9. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Then the matter has been decided. [laughter] The matter has been decided.

On the question of the order, what was proposed was put to a vote. It gained overwhelming support. At the same time this decides the fate of the other proposals, for the congress cannot work under two agendas at one time. It has already been determined. All right. [indistinct voice from the floor] Don't worry, I know what needs to be done. Who is in favor of our confining ourselves to this, that the examination of the agenda should be regarded as decided and thus that we should not embark upon consideration of the other alternative proposals? I ask deputies to vote. Please put your hands down. Are there any against? Clearly a minority. In this case this is not required it is of no significance. We won't make a count. It was an absolute, overwhelming majority. We've decided. The agenda of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies has been approved.

I will now decide one more question, and then I will raise a question which some comrades here have raised with me. It deals with the order of our work. On behalf of the meeting of representatives, Deputy Nazarbayev submitted the proposal that the issues be examined in the order in which they have been included in the agenda. I included that in the first point in the voting and we voted on it. But the question is that there are now the standing orders. As you know, the Constitution provides for the adoption of the standing orders by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, the task of which is to define in detail the whole procedure of the activity of the supreme bodies of power. We naturally do not have such standing orders now. We have to adopt them and evidently the congress, at the appropriate time, must adopt a decision and entrust the Supreme Soviet with the task of working out these standing orders in draft form, and of presenting them for confirmation by a regular congress, which today is the autumn congress. Clearly that is how we are going to proceed. Before the permanently operating standing orders are adopted it would be expedient to adopt a provisional document determining the procedure of the work of the congress. This task is resolved by the provisional standing orders of the congress session, a draft of which is in your hands. It includes all the norms of the USSR Constitution on the work of the congress, and also the rules that issue from them. The provisional standing orders have been examined by the USSR Suprem Soviet Presidium and at the group yesterday we discussed them—quite intensively, moveover—and a lot of interesting additions were incorporated. And in my opinion, there were none who objected here, and all approved them unanimously. Here, therefore, are your draft standing orders, our draft. They are in your hands. Can I put them to the vote, if the comrade deputies are in agreement with the proposals which have been made in this connection by the meeting of representatives? [indistinct interjection from auditorium]

[Gorbachev] Please take the floor. Please introduce yourself first.

[Antanavichyus] Deputy Antanavichyus, 22d national constituency. The standing orders which we received today make no mention of the amendments introduced yesterday. For instance, an amendment was adopted on point 19 to the effect that the statements, declarations, and addresses introduced at the congress by no less than 20 deputies are distributed by the congress as official documents of the congress. Further, an amendment was introduced into Article 15 to the effect that in a decision regarding the question of ending a debate, deputies elected from a union republic have the right to insist upon the continuation of the debate on questions concerning the republic provided such a proposal is supported by at least two-thirds of the deputies elected from that republic. And there was more. However, I did not make any more proposals. Therefore, I think that their authors will also speak out.

[Gorbachev] First of all, I see that point 15 says a debate is ended on the decision of the congress. One minute, I ask, let us not have people walking about at will. Otherwise, let us dissolve the presidium and then you open the veche [popular assembly in medieval Russian town]. I do not know what means you will find to do that. I do not think that this is how we should act. But I shall let you have the floor without fail. In point 15, first, the answer to one question. A debate is ended on the decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies adopted by a majority, no less than two-thirds of the overall number of people's deputies. In deciding the question of ending a debate, deputies elected from the union republics have the right to insist that the floor be given to one of the deputies of the given republic, provided such a proposal is supported by at least two-thirds of the deputies elected from that republic. That is why....

[Antanavichyus] I am obliged to [word indistinct] (?object) once more.

[Gorbachev] Yes.

[Antanavichyus] Then the question arises, why did these representatives meet yesterday? Yesterday, we agreed that a debate continues on the demand of at least two-thirds of the delegates of the republic. That is an essential—the essence of the change. Not one deputy,

but the debate continues, and as you, Mikhail Sergeyvich, said yesterday, until the second ballot.

[Gorbachev] Alright, let us have this amplification. I agree with this. Let us elaborate. There won't be any objections? Ballot? [indistinct remarks from auditorium] I think, comrades, that this is all acceptable. The mechanism has been thought out. The congress can always intervene in that process if things begin to get drawn out and if speculation begins on that legal room. It can put an end to that business by repeat ballotting.

Now, as far as your second proposal is concerned. I consider that we came to an agreement, and I remember that just as you do. We voted, but so that all these things are not distributed by the delegations themselves, but through the Supreme Soviet presidium, a document is distributed. I think that what we agreed upon at the meeting has to be confirmed. You know, they worked till dawn last night and missed something. Please, Comrade Landsbergis. Now, where is that comrade who wanted to speak? Oh, there he is. I shall give you the floor. There you are. Introduce yourself, please.

[Landsbergis] Deputy Landsbergis, 245th constituency, the town of Panevezys. I asked for the floor a bit earlier, but even now I would like to draw your attention, esteemed delegates, to the fact that the method of voting which we are adopting here, which has already been adopted, and which was adopted yesterday, can be regarded as an improper one. That is because whenever there are alternative proposals, it would be more proper to vote for the first proposal, and then for the second proposal, and not the way we do it. I suggest we reflect on that.

At the same time, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that Academician Sakharov made two proposals on the agenda, and the first proposal on the decree of the congress has so far been passed over in silence.

[Gorbachev] Let us examine. As far as the items of the first part, they have been resolved, and we, in accordance with the request from Comrade Shchedrin, examined the issue of whether we should take a vote on all viewpoints—and he insisted that his proposal was voted upon. Therefore we have received that issue in general, in principle, collectively; the congress has made a decision. And I think we shall not go back to that; we shall go further. As far as the issue raised by Academician Sakharov concerning the adoption of a decree which should express at once the powers on the three issues handled by the congress, I would act as follows: Let us instruct the presidium to examine that proposal; that does not go contrary to the agenda. That applies, rather, to the hierarchy of the supreme bodies of power—what should the congress have at its disposal, what should the Supreme Soviet have at its disposal—and that is to be determined more precisely. That subject was the principal one yesterday, and, incidentally, we came to very interesting proposals yesterday—I mean, that we are going, apparently, to propose...the way that that meeting of representatives pronounced itself, but that will be further on...that, after all, two congresses a year should be held, and not the way it was original planned; that the Supreme Soviet will be essentially assuming the functions of a working body, although a solid one, a top body, with great powers, but, after all, one which essentially works for the congress; and that the basic laws, except for those which do not require the the congress, but just that they will be, afterall, in the end, adopted by the congress. We have reached agreement. [applause] We have agreed that the deputies, the people's deputies who do not find themselves at the people's congress, should not feel in the Supreme Soviet that they have been invited once a year—let it be even twice—but the rest of the time, no one cares what you do. No. We thought of that; all this as a set of measures is what was examined beforehand, just as an idea. On talking to many a delegate, I felt that many, all, are concerned with the destiny of the people's deputy. And we have agreed that first of all, the commission will be 50 percent constituted by, let us say, members of the Supreme Soviet, and 50 percent by people's deputies. Therefore, that would immediately expand the possibilities of the delegates to work in the commission. We have also agreed that as the Supreme Soviet works, and conducts its current work in the chambers and commissions, it steers the work schedule, the schedule of sessions of the commissions, of the issues that are handled, and each deputy, if he needs and deems it possible to take part and voice his opinion on this or that issue, then he comes and takes part in the work of this or that commission, or in a session of a chamber. And, incidentally, we have agreed that this should be resolved at this congress—to immediately enable the delegate, should he wish to do so, to announce his departure and leave for here.

Apart from that, there will be a status—today it is temporary; for the Supreme Soviet deputy this will be a new status which, generally, is bound to elevate our USSR people's deputy in comparison with his position in accordance with the present status. We shall work on that and make a decision on that at the autumn congress.

Therefore, comrades, through the realization of these ideas—and as we work our way through them, others, I think, will appear—we will achieve a situation in which the people's deputy, in the framework of his powers and the terms of those powers, will participate efficiently in the entire work. And at a certain stage, we will provide instructions on all of these issues. Right, let us instruct the Presidium, regarding the proposal by Academician Sakharov, to take its stand and offer its ideas to you. All right? I do not think that requires a vote, just an agreement. Now one of the deputies has come to me and said: Mikhail Sergeyevich, it is not right that you should be conducting the congress, because it should be conducted by the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission. Is it my lack of democracy or something which is making some people unhappy? [indistinct voices from hall] I do not know, but according to the Constitution,

yes indeed, I will say it all now, as you say. We discussed this question, comrades, and it was recognized that there should be representatives on the working presidium, both from the Supreme Soviet Presidium, which was entrusted with opening it, the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, who was instructed to open it, and from the republics, so that it would be a working, full blooded, representative, democratic body which could meet and discuss how the congress is going, what considerations need working out, and if something crops up they would report it to you, and so forth. All the deputies, both in the discussion in groups of deputies and at the assembly of representatives, agreed with this, and this proposal was submitted. Probably they want to overthrow me, or something. But don't worry, we agreed that all the presidium members will be conducting business in turn....

[(Levashov)] Comrade deputies, the thing is that according to Article 110 of the Constitution....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Just a minute, I haven't given the floor to you!

[(Levashov)] But it is the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission who should be giving the floor to me.

[Gorbachev] OK, just a minute. I will now give you the floor, but you should, after all, ask for the floor.

[(Levashov)] OK. That's right, just as it should be.

[Gorbachev] You should show respect both to the congress and to the presidium. Please go on. Introduce yourself.

[(Levashov)] Deputy (Levashov), (Kolpinskiy) Territorial Constituency No 52. Comrade deputies, the thing is that according to article 110 of the Constitution, the first session following the elections of the Congress of People's Deputies is conducted by the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission. If not, then all the decisions made now, the votes and acts, have no legal force. We need to reopen the congress. There is a very serious question here. This is the question I put to the presidium. Thank you for listening. [isolated applause]

[Gorbachev] I believe that the congress, the congress at the preparatory stage, worked out the proposals and democratically decided the question of the presidium. In that way the congress today has constituted everything as it is. Shall we take it from there? [sounds of agreement from the hall] Does anyone object on that score? [sounds of "no" in the hall] No. Good.

So, we have started discussing the standing orders. If you please. Please introduce yourself. Comrade (?Yevgeich), no?

[(?Yevgeich)] (?Yevgeich), No 304 National-Territorial Electoral Constituency. Esteemed comrade people's deputies! The question of the standing orders, temporary or permanent, might at first seem a purely technical matter. But I have come to the rostrum because I think that this is a matter of primary importance. And today, drafting or refining this or that varient of the standing orders, we are laying the foundations for the more successful or less successful work of our congress. In connection with this, I am, as it were, beginning with the final conclusion: I propose the election of or the formation of a commission from among the USSR people's deputies, who will now over a couple of days put the final touches to these temporary standing orders, which the congress will endorse. Our legal status, the form of our activities immediately after the congress closes, and the possibilities of using deputies' rights will depend on what this document will be like.

In connection with this, there is the following, as well. Today we find ourselves at the second stage of the reform of the political system. This stage presupposes that we will restructure the federation and take into account the real sovereignty of the union republics; that in turn means that there will be very intensive legislative activity. The draft temporary standing orders talk about this. They talk of who has the right of initiating legislation, how laws are passed, and so on. But a whole range of issues remain open, particularly the question of which laws will be passed by the congress and which by the Supreme Soviet. The Constitution gives us no reply to this question. If you compare the powers of the congress and those of the Supreme Soviet, they partially overlap. And so, in the standing orders, we must somehow or other stipulate which laws we will be discussing, and perhaps provide for some possibility of convening not an extraordinary but a regular congress wich would engage in legislative work. Further, I propose, in this connection, that we consider that it might be sensible to have the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet to be endorsed at a regular congress. That would be democratic; it would not take a lot of time, but at least the people, in the person of the people's deputies, would—so to speak—give its approval to the work that has been done by the Supreme Soviet in a given period.

The question of regulating the legislative work of the congress is also a very interesting matter. For example, from the standing orders, there is no mention of what the time frames are for the preparation of drafts in standing commissions and committees, what the procedure for making amendments to them is, nor how participation of deputies—both those elected in the Supreme Soviet and those not elected—in the work of these standing commissions is expressed. This is extremely important; it is the machinery, the legislative machinery. But depending on how much we manage to work out these rules, we will be able to provide laws which are technically better or worse laws. Mikhail Sergeyevich has already spoken of the desirability of allowing people's deputies not elected

to the Supreme Soviet to work in the standing commissions. There is nothing in the standing orders about this. It seems to me that this should definitely be included, so that in cases where special knowledge is required, we can come and speak, because there will be no chance to speak at the congress, but everyone wants to make whatever contribution they can to legislative activity.

And finally, it seems to me that today's experience already shows that we need organizational forms. There is the beginning of them, too, here, but so far there are too few. Imagine, such a gigantic collective of people. How are we to organize it? Evidently, it should be organized by union republic, and evidently the deputies from a union republic should figure in the standing orders as some association, be it a group, delegation, whatever we want. And it should be clearly registered how work is organized and how deputies speak here—then there will be no lack of coordination; there will be greater organization and greater efficiency. Thank you for your attention.

[Gorbachev] [applause] Good. May I express my reaction to what I think was a very substantive speech? So, we—evidently this is the fate of a first congress—are faced with the need for standing orders. We have to draft them. But until we have drafted and endorsed standing orders, we have to live on and work. To this end there is, as it were, a transitional stage: the temporary standing orders.

This is what has been proposed, so that we might be able to work, move ahead, and tackle the issues. But I have already said that we must draw up standing orders, and they should be the object of in-depth discussion at the congress. That is the first thing. In the second place, of the many matters that the comrade deputy correctly raised, I would say—judging by what one can glean at once from what one hears—the majority, by and large, deserves attention. And in particular, I believe that the standing orders will change greatly, given that the delegates support the idea of the need to go back and more precisely apportion the hierarchy between congress and the Supreme Soviet and, thus, the participation of deputies in various forms, including in commissions. All of this must be implemented in the standing orders. And so, therefore, evidently all the same if we keep our feet firmly on the ground. [sentence as heard] In fact, the situation is this: for the congress to be able to work and tackle the issues, we must now support and go along with the provisional standing orders and all the other matters, including those which you mentioned before—true, some of them are, as it turns out, included, such as the participation of deputies in the work of the standing commissions, of whether they are in the Supreme Soviet. That is mentioned, but that is not the point. That is, all the remaining issues are within the context of the fact that, generally speaking, we will decide the question of two congresses—as yet we have just the one planned—and that we need to clarify the jurisdiction of the congress and the Supreme Soviet. Moreover, it will probably turn out that not every law, for example, ratification...[changes thought] There are laws that require only the Supreme Soviet to convene and decide the matter, but there are laws, including perhaps a ratification law, that require the congress to meet, when the matter affects the destiny of the state. And so, we must work on this. And all of this will be reflected later in the permanent standing orders that we will put forward for approval by the next congress.

I believe we must move ahead in that direction, on the basis of this discussion. What about it, comrades? [noise from hall] Right. Please go ahead, Comrade Stankevich. Comrade Stankevich, a deputy from Moscow.

[Stankevich] Deputy Stankevich, Cheremushki Constituency No 26, Moscow city. I wish to propose an amendment to Article 18 of the provisional standing orders. I agree that a more serious review of the regulations can wait. A special commission needs to be set up to make a serious study of this. But, in my opinion, it would make sense to include this proposal, which I submit for your examination, in the provisional standing orders of the congress. We can't manage without it. I am talking about Article 18, in which the sequence of the voting procedure is determined. The thing is, it makes no provision for a registered vote. During my election campaign, and from chatting to voters in Moscow and other towns, it became perfectly clear to me that the overwhelming majority of the electorate wants to know how the representatives at the congress are voting. Moreover—excuse me, excuse me—this is an amendment to the standing orders which we are discussing. And moreover, deputies now have sufficient convenient opportunity, thanks to anonymous voting, to reject serious proposals and serious draft bills which the electorate is anticipating, and consequently—subsequently—to bear no responsibility toward the electorate. Well, I would like to avoid this convenient opportunity of anonymous voting. I am well aware that, since we have technical difficulties in the country and we cannot permit ourselves such a luxury as an electronic voting system—we are unable to in this situation—we are forced to seek other ways. Let's suppose the majority of the voting is simply carried out by a raising of hands. So, let's proceed with this archaic method. But on the more fundamental proposals and the more fundamental draft bills, on the demand of, say, no less than 100 deputies, we can proceed with such a luxury as a registered vote. Therefore, the crux of the proposal follows. This is my formula: to supplement Article 18 of the provisional regulations with the following clause: On request of no less than 100 congress deputies, a registered vote may be carried out. Thank you. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Permit me to present my attitude to this and, in this connection, to consult with you. I believe that Comrade Stankevich's proposal is worth attention, comrades. Let's remind ourselves, that voting by name took place on the Peace of Brest, so to speak. Such things happen in our country, they may even become turning points, when each deputy, weighing everything up, has to engage in voting by name.

But I would only disagree with Comrade Stankevich's formula about the request of 100 deputies. By a decision of the congress, the congress should determine, and not 100 deputies whether voting by name is necessary or not. Therefore, I would say that, by a decision of the congress, voting by name can be conducted. In my opinion, this is a very important and serious addendum.

And so, Comrade Stankevich's first proposal: voting by name on the initiative of a minimum of 100 deputies. Those in favor of deputy Stankevich's proposal, please raise your mandates. Please count them. One moment, please lower them. In the order submitted, a proposal is being put to the vote, as worded by Deputy Stankevich, as follows: Voting by name may be carried out at the congress on the initiative of no less than 100 deputies. [indistinct interjection from auditorium] No, but there is still a proposal.

The second proposal is the one which I have submitted: Voting by name may be carried out by decision of the congress. The first proposal was by Deputy Stankevich. [indistinct interjections]

No, but I think that we should proceed as laid out in the democratic process. The first proposal is from deputy Stankevich: He proposes, his formula is as follows: that the congress may carry out voting by name if such a proposal is submitted by no less than 100 deputies. Is that correct, Comrade Stankevich? Those in favor of his proposal, please vote. [extended pause for vote counting]

[Gorbachev] Let them get on with it. Leonid Ivanovich is looking and thinking, how will we be voting for the budget. Now I shall read a document.

[Unidentified deputy] Good job too! We even had a rest!

[Gorbachev] First and second sectors, report. [indistinct remarks from auditorium] Comrades, please. Comrades in the presidium have paid attention to the fact that (?you are not voting).

[Vote counter] I report, 431 in favor.

[Gorbachev] What?

[Vote counter] Four hundred and thirty-one people voted in favor.

[Gorbachev] All right, Who is against? [several interjections from auditorium] For the second? Who is in favor of the second proposal, that the congress can conduct a nominal vote on its decision. All right, you can put your hands down. Is it necessary to count in this case. [unidentified interjections] But only in the event that everyone agrees to it. Then we shall not count...The overwhelming majority...There is no need? No one insists on a count. [indistinct interjections] No one. Then the question has been resolved. Your proposal is being accepted with an amendment, with an amendment.

Now, comrades, I want to make public the request of deputies Gorinov and Karpochev, deputies from the Mari ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], I think. They write that the attempts by some deputies to divert the congress to the discussion of procedures, procedures issues, is a very pernicious thing. It does not give prestige to our congress in the eyes of the electorate, even those voters who elected Comrades Sakharov, Boldyrev, and others. The people are waiting to see how the congress will decide fundamental questions, of our way of life. Therefore, one must appeal to the congress as to whether those who are actively introducing disorganization into the work of the congress should be given the floor three or four times. [applause].

For my part, I will comment on this in the following way. Many substantial questions were posed here, many. Therefore, I think that everything that has been done up to now in this hour—an hour and a half already, one and a half—is substantial. We have approved the agenda. We have practically approved the standing orders. And all our activity should be based on that. And finally we have had exchanges with one another the questions which are already appearing in an outline. For all that, I have in mind Academician Sakharov's idea. And the fact that I am drawing up this suggestion, I developed the fact that it is already time for us to think about the presidium preparing, drawing on the participation of the deputies, questions regarding the powers of the congress and the Supreme Soviet, the functioning of all that complicated representative mechanism of ours. Therefore I would say that everything that has been discussed here was not just negative work. Mainly, it was, nevertheless, positive, but a warning like that and such a desire is pertinent and I think democratic as well. They took advantage of their right to express such a comment.

So please introduce yourself.

[Bojars] Fedir Rudolfovich Bojars, constituency No 303, Dobele. Well, I have no doubt that the standing orders presented by the presidium can be adopted as a basis, and I would vote for this with pleasure. But, obviously, apart from this, we still need to adopt some small amendments, so that we can with a clear conscience move forward. And for some republics and delegations, these amendments clearly are of considerable importance. The more so, in what I am about to say. We basically, Mikhail Sergeyevich—I probably assume that you (? won't let me get it wrong)—that we talked about it yesterday, and somehow more or less agreed on it. So, this is my proposal concerning a small delegation, in particular small republics: The Baltic republics, are worried that the basic political debates they—in our very big mass of basically constructively minded comrades who all want to speak—may not be heard at all. For this reason, we had a proposal yesterday...no, comrades, this is serious, there is no er, um, yes, no. I have no criticism. So it is a small request: that we should vote that every delegation, every republic should have at least a guaranteed minimum of speeches at the basic political debates.

[Gorbachev] Right.

[Bojars] This is very important.

[Gorbachev] Right. Comrades, I confirm the question. The deputy is right. It was discussed at the conference of representatives, and we agreed, and let's write it in, to instruct the presidium to collegially determine the list of speakers, so that the interests of all the republics, krays, and oblasts, are taken into account, first and foremost I place the republics—after all, we are a union—and probably to some extent there should be representatives also of the various strata. So, unless you object, we can instruct the presidium with the following formula: to keep track of the speeches to ensure a minimum participation of representatives of all republics, krays, and oblasts, and the respective groups [voice from the hall]...I said krays and oblasts.

[Bojars] So, my next proposal, comrades.

[Gorbachev] And of public organizations.

[Bojars] Yesterday we also more or less agreed—and a whole series of comrades from the Russian Federation and also from Moscow made this proposal—that we should vote nevertheless to nominate our representatives to the congress. And this should obviously be registered according to groups in the standing orders, because we think that we, in our group, spent a whole day in Riga discussing whom to nominate and in what way, taking into account the work and personal qualities and even the potential of each. Professor Plotnieks, who spoke before me, has—pardon me for saying so—also his own personal matters of concern. At home he has a young child and a mother whom he has to look after. We take this into account in our group, but other comrades cannot be aware of this. This is why we have an absolutely precise proposal. We are nominating our list and we shall stand for it. And later we shall change it, because, well, why should I interfere in the matters of the Russian Federation and determine who should represent the Russian Federation? I would consider this to be even immodest. And this is our second proposal in regard of which we already agreed yesterday.

[Gorbachev] Yes, this does not have anything to do with standing orders, but this relates to the voting procedure, yes?

[Bojars] It is registered here. And for the next matter, concerning the proposal of Professor Plotnieks, this is what we need here at the congress. We are firstly legislators and people who determine our state' policy. This is why one of the most important tasks of our congress is evidently, at least, the compilation of a basic list of the laws which should be adopted in a most urgent way. And it is evidently necessary to vote on this. And in the course of the congress this work must evidently be done and in order to do this it is necessary to create an appropriate commission, which would deal with these laws and with the proposals on draft laws. This work is, as they say at international meetings, essential and important. And this is my second proposal.

[Gorbachev] And so, in the first part there is a proposal to include, to instruct the presidium to keep track of and to regulate the speeches so that the representation of the republics, regions, and public organizations would be ensured in the debates as a minumum. As far as the second group of questions is concerned, let's instruct the presidium to organize a study of these questions and on this account submit a proposal for subsequent examination. They are of a very important nature.

[Bojars] Now, as for the laws, Comrades Mikhail Sergeyevich remarked very correctly that there are laws and laws. But as far as the so-called functional laws are concerned, I still have a motion: to vote on all laws, that is, to pass all laws at the congress or to approve them at the congress. In the intervals between regular sessions of the congress—however we decide, once or twice a year—a law adopted by the Supreme Soviet will be in force, but if the congress does not approve a law, it is not valid. That is the motion.

[Gorbachev] Well, I believe, that is along the lines of what I said, and all of these issues should be resolved at the stage of the basic standing orders where we will delimit the basic hierarchies, rights, and correlations and decide there, to what extent and which particular laws will be resolved finally in the Supreme Soviet, which ones at the congress, or which ones require being brought to the attention of the congress or approved by it. That is, we will dot our I's. For these are major legal issues of fundamental importance.

[Bojars] And a small amendment which we, after all, agreed upon yesterday. I believe we unequivocally resolved that. Have a look at the amendment to the standing orders, item 19, the very last paragraph at the bottom of the page. We have agreed that people's deputies will have the right to take part not only in the work of the chambers, but also in the work of commissions and committees, with the right of consultative vote. I motion to place it on record; and as important for the status of people's deputy.

[Gorbachev] All right; let us place that on record. Even more so, because in the preliminary study we proceeded from the fact.... Just a moment! No, we are dealing with commissions here.

[Bojars] We agreed on the consultative vote yesterday.

[Gorbachev] The point is that the commissions will be made up by about 50 percent of members of the Supreme Soviet and 50 percent of people's deputies, and that point was included.

[Unidentified deputy] Does not have the right to decide. [as heard]

[Gorbachev] That's right, with a consultative vote. The commissions will have the decisive vote, and the bodies of the Supreme Soviet—the consultative vote—at the sessions of the Supreme Soviet, of the chambers. [sentence as heard]

[Bojars] And the last thing, comrades, we are all very concerned with moving forward somehow all the time, without getting stuck in the very complex issues and discussions which we will not be able to resolve, if we are to deal with such a great mass of them. That is why I doubt very much that it is worth voting by a roll call here. If we had the electronic machinery, which is used at some international conferences, then we could proceed quickly. But if we vote by roll call on this mass of issues, a single issue would take a day. I doubt very much that it is worth it. That is why this decision whereby the congress....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Generally speaking, for the benefit of the deputies, I would like to say that such instructions have been given and a draft is being drawn, because each deputy's working position should be properly prepared.

[Bojars] Thank you for your attention.

[Gorbachev] That draft is being studied. I believe that is not necessary now. It is a practical question. After all, instructions have been given. And further on, it will be decided. Comrades, shall we finish the discussion? [laughter] Yes.

[Unidentified deputy] Comrade deputies, excuse me for (?seizing the floor); I cannot reach the platform. I shall speak from where I am.

[Gorbachev] Certainly.

[Deputy] The issue concerning the nomination of a deputy in a republic, above all if it is a Baltic republic, should be taken off the agenda. That issue is aimed [words indistinct] in the Baltic area. Other deputies of that region have not been granted the floor. And I [words indistinct] express my protest against [words indistinct]. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Comrades, the issue is a major one. We discussed it thoroughly yesterday at the conference of representatives, very thoroughly. The 446 people who are among us here can confirm that. Today's discussion confirms the fact that it is indeed a major issue. And I believe that we should, relying on the Constitution, according to which the congress elects the Supreme Soviet, and the Supreme Soviet would not, so to speak, be shaped the way it was practiced when congresses of soviets existed. [sentence as heard] At the time, the lower echelons of the Soviets delegated their deputies higher, and the process of shaping the congress of Soviets proceeded in that way.

In this particular case, proposals are sent from the localities, from the delegations, but decisions are made by vote at the congress itself. I believe there are issues here which we should consider, on how to combine them. And the issue, so to speak, of combining that right of the congress to determine, to pass the final decision on the composition of the Supreme Soviet, taking into account the opinion of the republics—that issue needs at further stages to be—so to speak—refined. I believe we have discussed it; your remark was heard by all that these nuances, I think, will be refined. The only thing is, I would not like us to suspect each other of doing something; that's the only thing. And I hope we can rid ourselves from suspicion.

[Sebentsov] Deputy Sebentsov, 19th Territorial Constituency. Comrades, I have a proposal regarding the 20th article of the provisional standing orders. It concerns the procedure for conducting our congress. Under Article 20 the congress session is open; representatives of state and other organizations are invited to it, as well as other individuals. I would like to suggest the following addition to that article. The invited parties do not have the right to interfere with the work of the congress by showing their opinion through shouting, applause, and other such means. [applause]

[Gorbachev] I think it is necessary to express this wish on behalf of the congress, to all those invited today and in the future. All deputies here are sitting in the stalls. And there is nobody here apart from them.

[Sebentsov] Yes, but we have already heard yells from the balcony. And another question. I would like to make use of my right of legislative initiative and propose a draft law on the status of the people's deputy of the USSR so that this draft be reproduced and presented to all deputies present at the congress. [applause] Comrades...[indistinct calls from deputies] so, half a minute each, half a minute.

[Unidentified deputy] I am representing the 582d constituency, the town of Vorkuta. This is what i have in mind. I propose that microphones be placed between rows; otherwise it is awkward to work. That is the first thing. And the second thing, the second proposal. At the very beginning I handed in a note to the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission [indistinct interjections from auditorium] At the very beginning of the work, I handed in a note to the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission. He will make its content public. But for some reason there has not been any answer, although it contains questions which concern many deputies. That is all.

[Gorbachev] All right. Please Ales Adamovich. In a minute, in a minute. You will all go through, comrades.

[Adamovich] Deputy Adamovich. We have been in session here for 2 hours, and for 2 hours millions of people have been watching us. So there you are, our

people are thinking: Good, but we want to support the congress, and express our opinion on the issues raised at the congress. So let us think. People will go out now to express their opinions somehow, and what will they encounter? Surely they cannot encounter that law on demonstrations and meetings that has been passed? Don't we need somehow, for the time of the congress and for the time of elections, to suspend the effect of this law, so that the people can participate actively in our work? [applause]

[Gorbachev] Please.

[Unidentified speaker] Amendment to Article 20. There has already been talk about this article here, but not very importantly. The last part was noted. It says at the start of the formulation of this point that representatives of state organizations are invited to the session. Why "are invited"? We are building a law-governed state. The term "are invited" is not at all a legal formula. And it essentially legalizes the judgement of the organizers of one congress or another. The formula by which representatives of state organizations, work collectives, of the press, television, mass media have the right to be present must be envisaged. Otherwise we shall not fulfill the directives of the 19th party conference on the development of glasnost and the resolutions on glasnost.

[Unidentified speaker] Federov.

[Gorbachev] One moment. Let us first define our position this. I think that there is no doubt that we will return to the theme raised by Comrade Adamovich.

As for making decisions now, as we go along, and pausing—I do not believe we can go down the road, going along, pausing again for something at the next stage, then, let's ask, what about suspending the constitution—and generally passions would flare up. I believe the procedure we have today—with all its failings, which no doubt deputies will mention—allows rallies to be held both for and against, but linked with the congress, so to speak. And this does not present an obstacle. And now the issue has been raised of the need to abolish everything and stop it. I would not tackle this matter in such a dramatic way. But then we come to these matters, I believe we will discuss them. [indistinct interjections] Do you insist on voting on the issue? [indistinct interjection] I believe what there is gives the opportunity for discussion. And, incidently, in the runup to the congress you were at rallies in two or three places, and everything was fine. You were listened to. And so I don't know what you're talking about. Very well. There's a written question here: Is there a direct broadcast of the session being shown? Yes, there is. Yes, there is. Everything is being seen. The whole country and the whole world can see. Is there a guarantee that the broadcasting of the session will not be broken off? Yes, there is a guarantee. There is a guarantee.

Yes, go ahead. Thirty seconds.

[Saunin] Saunin, Anatoliy Nikolayevich, from Makeyevak Territorial Constituency No 443.

The first thing I would like to say is that I get the impression that some delegates—pardon me, deputies—here are racing to catch a train that is just about to leave. And those proposals that are bound up with departing from the agenda and from those problems that we are discussing. [sentence as heard]

The second thing, regarding the standing orders: We want to build a state based on the rule of law, and so presumably we want to live in accordance with laws and decisions. Any haste in adopting standing orders and other documents could mean that we will again have to return to them, to their imperfectness and their unfinished state, just as we did before. And, therefore, I believe that the democratic process is a difficult one. We have to gather our patience, and thoughtfully and attentively listen to all points of view—both for and against—and then make the decision.

On the standing orders, article one of the provisional standing orders states that a congress is to be held once a year. Mikhail Sergeyevich seemed to say that we should plan for two, but we don't actually hear it. And so, twice a year should be written in the standing orders.

Then again, I don't like Article 19, the final lines, where we—people's deputies, the plenipotentiary and equal representatives of the people—are divided into those deputies with the right to a deciding vote, and those with a right to a consultative vote. I believe this is tied up with what Mikhail Sergeyevich was talking about—it is a change in the status of the USSR Supreme Soviet, turning it from an organ of state power into an organ of the Congress of People's Deputies. And I propost that we remove this article.

[Gorbachev] All right. I am coming back again to what we talked about. I think that until we have introduced amendments to the constitution—and it says once a year—we cannot enter this into the standing orders, as they must not be at variance with the Constitution. But we all arrived—and I see that the congress is arriving at this, too—yesterday, at the meeting of representatives; we all agreed that this subject—the subject of a congress of the Supreme Soviet, its time limits, the frequency and regularity of congresses—must be studied by us; we must introduce the corresponding amendments into the constitution and enter them in new standing orders. Let us do this that way, comrades. Meanwhile, let us solve the issue of the provisional standing orders so that we can act. So, everything will be taken into account. I am sure that you have proposals which touch upon precisely such problems which are clear to us to a great extent, on the whole. Just 30 seconds—each speaker will be given ½ a minute.

[Lubenchenko] Well, comrades, we are all calling on one another to have high political standards.

[Gorbachev] Introduce yourself.

[Lubenchenko] Lubenchenko, Territorial Constituency No 40. Unfortunately we are not really demonstrating this, demonstrating this on our live transmission. It seems to me that if we are talking about the standing orders, then this is such an ultracomplex document, which we have to work out very thoroughly and over a period of many months. We cannot resolve it now. But, apart from this, we also want to include in these standing orders a whole series of substantive matters and specific legislation, and each one of us wants to express, in general, a sea of all kinds of thoughts, a sea, and this sea will simply swamp us. We are now examining one issue, the issue of the temporary standing orders. The congress possesses such supreme juridical force that, on the whole, temporary standing orders are no obstacle. And during examination of whatever questions, we can instantly and immediately introduce changes to it if they bother us. However, if we now devote time to including all these matters into the standing orders, then we will achieve nothing. Therefore, it seems to me that we now need to raise the question, perhaps, of an editorial commission which could immediately deal with matters and with summing up this mass of all these remarks that are coming in, so that we do not all have to come out to the rostrum and speak about this.

[Gorbachev] That's it, your time is up.

[Lubenchenko] And one last thing, if you will allow me. The last comment was made to us here on point 11, that after the elections the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission is the first to conduct the session of the congress, and then the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. But in order for us not to violate the constitution, it seems to me that we should confirm by a vote of the congress the right to conduct the congress, which was entrusted to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev by the presidium, and thus the question of violations of the Constitution will be procedurally removed.

[Gorbachev] As though I decided this matter and legalized it. Yes. Why, would you like to vote? All right then, so as to reinforce straightaway what has begun, and so that no one gets the idea that I am a usurper. Please go ahead. [laughter] Please put down your hands. Against? Good. We've reached unanimity, comrades. [laughter and applause] But what about abstentions? One moment. Abstentions? Two, three, four. Four. Five abstentions. There are five abstentions. Good. We've decided. Then allow me to push off from the idea expressed by comrade.... Do you also wish to speak about the standing orders? On the standing orders? No? Then just wait a minute. Allow me to conclude this discussion on the standing orders with the following—using as a basis the proposals made by the last people's deputy, and to put the question in the following way: To endorse the standing orders, the provisional standing orders, including the addenda about which we have aleady adopted decisions in every specific case here, and, naturally, to instruct the presidium to submit proposals to the commission so that it can already start working on summing up all the proposals for the standing orders, and so that this work can already get under way, and to edit these standing orders, taking account of the remarks. Those in favor of adopting the provisional standing orders with the addenda to have adopted please raise your mandates. Please lower them. Who is against, comrades? I do not see anyone. Do the vote counters see anyone? No. Any abstentions? There are abstentions; please count them.

Have you counted, comrades? Who has abstained?

[Vote counter] Mikhail Sergeyevich, 17 persons have abstained.

[Gorbachev] Fine, that means we have adopted the standing orders with 17 abstentions. Now, comrades, in accordance with the constitution, we have to form the Credentials Commission of the congress in order to check the authorization of the elected deputies. You have these proposals in your hands; they have been submitted by delegations and by a meeting of representatives of delegations. This has been agreed in general, but, nevertheless, some questions of other proposals may arise at the congress. What comments are there on the personnel? Andrey Dmitriyevich, if you please.

[Speaker—surname unknown] I consider that the office of chairman of the Credentials Commission is an extremely important office, and it should be discussed personally, and not as a section of a general list. My proposal is that a professional jurist, in line with the particular nature of this work, should be in this office.

[Gorbachev] So, the question of chairman—Comrade Gidaspov, Boris Veniaminovich, general director of a scientific production association, chairman of the board of the Tekhnokhim interbranch state association in the city of Leningrad. I would like to say that this nomination arose directly at the conference of representatives. This was a unanimous view. I also think that Andrey Dmitriyevich spoke in favor of this. But he probably gave it some thought. Something has arisen, and maybe it would be sensible to discuss his proposal since we are talking about the person of chairman. Incidentally, there are jurists here. Well, I don't think this is an occasion where you necessarily have to have a jurist. Comrade Stankevich, if you please. We shall continue our debate.

[Stankevich] Deputy Stankevich, Cheremushkinskiy Constituency Number 26, Moscow. I would like to submit the following proposal: to give the commission itself the opportunity to elect the chairman and to vote only on the composition of the commission. Let the commission decide on its own who will be the chairman, who will be deputy chairmen, who will be a secretary. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] If it makes no difference to us. This topic was examined at a conference of representatives and this has been proposed, but everybody thought that this is the prerogative of the congress and not only of the commission itself. Thus, comrades from Leningrad, what can you say about Comrade Gidaspov; and Comrade Gidaspov, where is he sitting? And you [he turns to another deputy], you obviously want to say something?

[Revnivtsev] Deputy Revnivtsev, Leningrad. I think that in order to elect the chairman, the basic characteristics have to be decency and honesty. The Leningrad delegation, having examined the question, believes that Comrade Gidaspov has these qualities. And there are jurists there. And the proper juridicial composition quorum for the commission will be ensured, I think. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Good. Does anybody doubt this? Comrade Gidaspov, where is he, come here! Tell us a little about yourself.

[Gidaspov] Comrades! I am indeed not a jurist. I have had a technical education and I have attended two or three sessions, and I understand that such an education is now against me. I was graduated from a polytechnic and then taught for a long time at high schools and went on to become deputy head of a department, and, at present, I am a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, the director of a large institute, and chairman of an inter-branch association set-up in Leningrad for the first time.

[Gorbachev] Our concern!

[Gidaspov] Concern, yes. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Please [indistinct voices, interrupting]

[Gidaspov] My attitude, [word indistinct] Aleksandrovich, let me note, is correct and normal. That is, we consider that we have got as much out of the elections as we put into them. [applause]

[Gorbachev] Good, sit down. Are there are more questions? [words indistinct] [laughter] Introduce yourself, Comrade Aydak.

[Aydak] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Is there time? Comrade Aydak, please, one minute, okay? Deputy Aydak.

[Aydak] The 689th National Territorial Constituency of Chuvashiya, Aydak. It is, of course, very incidental, but what can one do? Two days ago, dear comrades, on the initiative of the Christian Commission of the Committee for the Salvation of the Volga and a group of chairmen of collective farms, a conference of chairmen of collective farms and directors of state farms was held. We are very grateful to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, and Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev that they found more than 2 hours of their time for the meeting and the examination of all the vital problems of the countryside with us. Yesterday, the chairman of collective farms and directors of state farms met again, and thanks to our country's leadership's good advice—that is, to turn to the congress with our problems, and without appeal—and yesterday a group of chairmen of collective farms, some 70 people, decided that this appeal must be examined not only with chairmen and directors of state farms but all deputies—agriculturists.

[Gorbachev] Comrade Aydak, are you talking about the credentials commission?

[Aydak] No. [laughter] I mean—I am asking all those connected with agricultural production to stay here in this hall immediately after the break to discuss this appeal. [laughter] In this hall! All stay here!

[Gorbachev] Enough.

[Aydak] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] If there are no other comments, no other views on the credentials commission, then I can put its composition to a vote. Who is in favor of the proposed composition of the credentials commission? Please raise your mandates; please lower them. Who is against? Two. Who abstained? One, two, three; three abstained. The composition of the credentials commission has been solved with two against and three abstentions.

Now it is necessary to give the floor straight away to the chairman of the credentials commission to report.

[Gidaspov] I am asking members of the credentials commission, when the work of this session is over, to go to the Grandvitaya Palace where we shall hold a sesion. This means, if anybody needs help, I shall wait on the fourth floor on the right from here. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Comrades, awaiting this, it would appear that they need some 3-4 hours. So, I am asking your agreement to continue working here and to meet here at 1600. It is 1210 now, right? A break till 1600.

Gorbachev Gives Second Session Speech

LD2505190889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1424 GMT 25 May 89

[Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at the second session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—live]

[Text] What is now taking place in this auditorium is unusual for all of us. It seems to me, taking the very strictest criteria, despite all nuances, I would assess this as the most convincing fact that restructuring is advancing. [applause]

I want to assure you, above all in terms of principle: I am devoted to this path on which we have begun: restructuring, the renewal of our society on the basis of principles of democracy, glasnost, a respectful attitude to the person, and the elevation of each person in our society. I am devoted to this line and will not be able to pursue another policy. The comrades should know this. I am not referring to specific things now. If you decide the question and there is an election, then there probably will spring up a conversation already concerned with specific things. I want to state my position in terms of principle.

I thank the comrades for their support. I can sense it; it could also be heard here. I assure you—perhaps you have been able to see this for yourselves, observing my style of work—any bureaucratic intrigues, the bureaucratic style, being out of touch with the people, exclusivity, are unacceptable to me. I do not accept this because of my inner convictions, and I implement this as much as I can in my work today in this post. I favor dialogue in the country, I favor dialogue between the party and all sections and all socal movements, even sometimes difficult ones, even when they forget the main values and our gains. Nevertheless, (?despite) all that is happening in our country, we must conduct a dialogue. Using all this is the main thing. When I am sometimes accused of the fact that there is a slight smell of a discussion club in the country, I wish to say the following: We are still learning democracy, all of us. We are still shaping our political culture; we are still mastering all mechanisms of democracy.

Many blunders are made in our country. A great many emotions are coming to the surface in our country. There are some people who are exploiting this situation—out of political ambitions, from careerist positions, or else simply for other considerations. It is not they who determine things. I believe we cannot conduct things differently. Otherwise it would be the case that we do not have faith in our people, we do not have faith in socialism, whose essence is that it is a system of working people for working people. That is why we must follow this road and accumulate experience.

Of course, restructuring is proceeding with difficulty. I assure you, comrades, and I want to dispel the idea that information is not reaching me and that I do not know what is taking place in the country. I am even aware of the fact that veterans are traveling in the last bus in Moscow and are carrying the following so to speak visual agitation—a portrait of Brezhnev, covered with orders, and a portrait of Gorbachev bearing rationing cards. I am aware of everything; perhaps I am even more aware than you are. I know less than all of you together, but taking each of you separately, I know more.

This—the difficulty, the tension of the situation—is not disconcerting me, because we have entered upon the most difficult stage of restructuring. There was the policy, there were meetings, there were discussions—difficult ones, interesting ones, important ones—we molded it in principle, in its main aspects—this will still require careful study and going deeper into in all areas.

But we have this policy. We warned ourelves about the most difficult things, but it is always our rule that when it is not thundering, the muzhik [Russian peasant] does not make the sign of the cross. We have started to unite our concept, with all of its shortcomings, with life. We have seen how complicated it is to enter into the thick layers, for it to take place, when we saw how it was taken in at the level of policy and goals. It seems to me that everybody became tipsy from this, and there it is, our policy. Now this policy is affecting the working class, in the economy, and first and foremost those who have become accustomed to excessive wage-leveling and artificially high wage and bonus levels. It affects managers who do not know how to work under conditions of financial autonomy because they are not competent. People see this and want to replace them because financial autonomy means living by end results, by how you know how to work. That means that an intelligent leader is required.

It affects the management apparatus, which we are thoroughly cutting back, and people are finding that having lived a considerable part of their lives, they have to discover and take new paths to change their way of life. Is this easy? What is taking place in the party? Is that taking place easily?

When we put all of science on financial autonomy instead of simply running things from budgets—regardless of the fact that for 10 years it did not contribute even one invention or any kind of innovation—is it easy to transfer, and understand, and earn, all of that? In the Army we have busied ourselves with it thoroughly. The problems there are no less; is that easy?

Take a look in the spiritual sphere. What is more, when we became busy with this we saw how this—our structure, the system, which had formed over decades—how it resists, so much so that we understand that we need change, that we need to move—but the system does not allow it. It was then that political reform and democracy appeared, and we put these processes in motion to lead the individual into the arena through the processes of democracy, so as to make him a decisive force.

Here it is, the congress, the first stage of reform, and it is demonstrating that we have not been mistaken on the main issue. One can talk about whether a law is a good one or not, about in what district who has duped whom. I am sorry. I can even add who has talked a lot of nonsense about what issues. One can say: This has also happened, you understand. Some of us even received mandates, perhaps, by relying particularly on this area of criticism and by attacking those in charge. The more you criticize those in charge, the more you can be trusted. This has happened, too.

That does not remove the main point that here, in the main, is the cadre corps and corps of deputies, which I am confident can shoulder the responsibility at this decisive and very difficult stage of restructuring—responsibility for the country's destiny. Therefore I want to say: Yes, comrades, we have advanced a long way in many respects, especially in preceiving ourselves, what we are, what is going on around us through the world, and how we must transform this—both in our internal policy and in our view of the world. I think, too, that we have proposed for our country a correct strategic direction, and we have put forward initiatives for the world which have at once changed attitudes toward us throughout the world. There have been great errors and major miscalculations. I think that both the Supreme Soviet chairman and particularly the leader of the government will have to speak of them, because without this there will not be fruitful debate, the elaboration of decisions, or the adoption of any correctives in our policy.

This, then, applies to the main thing. Yes, comrades, many questions have been raised here, including the fact that there have been great miscalculations and that we have been experiencing troubles. Some of these need not have been. They need not have been. I am concerned, as you are. I do not think you suspect me of wanting things to be worse. I think that we are as yet only taking hold of the situation, and it is still getting free of our grasp. The reform and the political process are breaking loose. In the spiritual sphere, but only after intense tussles with people clashing head-on, there has begun to appear now an understanding that the time has come when it is necessary to consolidate, for the sake of our country's highest interests and for the sake of achieving these goals. I think that we have reached this stage. We will do what is necessary for economic reform. We must think through how we are to advance on the second stage of political reform. We must think on how, in our society, too, we are to weld the people together through the ideology of renewal and through the triumph of morality on the basis of our values, to which we all swear allegiance. This will occur above all through life itself.

I would like to respond [passage indistinct] because there are many questions, and, in particular, Comrade Lauristin here, a deputy from the Baltic region, from Estonia, has asked many questions. I will reply in a fundamental manner. I think that in the framework of the congress we ought to reply to all those painful questions, we ought to reply to all questions, and to examine things as they are, and to say so, to say so. But I think that I cannot now omit to say beforehand, as you are discussing this and want to know Gorbachev's point of view: Can we do things in such a way that the Army should be used for restoring order and taking actions of the sort that occurred in Tbilisi—although the whole action still has to be looked into? Let me say bluntly that the Army should do the Army's job, and that is the viewpoint of the Politburo and government. That is the first point.

Secondly...[interrupted by applause]...that is the way, comrades, it is the only way. And we must do everything to ensure that it should never come to this. People ask how the troops appeared there. But, you know, I think that when we invite our troops to help the militia in order to maintain the situation, and to prevent what happened in Sumgait from happening, and somehow to separate [as heard] and to protect good order, this no doubt needs to be discussed, it needs to be discussed.

We have proceeded from the premise that in such a situation you have to somehow contain the situation. The imposition of a curfew in order somehow to take control of the situation was 4 hours late, and look what happened. So, we have to consider the mechanisms, so that no one has any suspicions on this account, suspicions that someone is thinking of, you know, getting the Army to move in to pacify the people, and so on. No, but to maintain stability, when it is necessary, we bring all forces into play—political, organizational, the militia, everything, the aktiv, the people, everyone. I think: Let's think through all these mechanisms at the next stage, when we will form the supreme bodies. These should all be actions that will be implemented earlier on the basis of discussion [as heard], with decisions being made in the Supreme Soviet, and on the most—on major questions, when the fate of the country is involved—by the congress.

I don't want to go into these details at the moment. By the time we found out, I found out, what had happened, it was already 1000 the next morning, because the day before, on Saturday, when I got back, I was told at the airport that the situation in Tbilisi was very tense. We agreed, right there at the airport, despite all the hardship of the visit—we had three countries behind us—that comrades Shevardnadze and Rauzmovskiy would travel there on that same Saturday. On Saturday the aircraft was already waiting to fly there when they phoned from Tbilisi and told Comrade Shevardnadze—he himself spoke to them and then informed me—that there was no need for him to go, and that things seemed to be getting back to normal. Then on Sunday I heard what had happened.

So, let's get to the bottom of it all. There's a procuracy investigation there; there's a republican commission there; there's a commission there that we dispatched from the center. All this information has to be publicized and handed over to the commission that we have set up. It will examine everything, and if need be, go down there again, and then report to us. On the basis of this a lesson has to be learned for everyone, for everyone. There's no evading it. Our comrades have brought up the interethnic issue. I think...[pauses] what's my view? I think as follows: In our union, which brings together so many peoples and ethnic groups, we will resolve nothing if a people, large or small, feels ill at ease, comrades. Therefore, to repeat something that once occurred to me: Through a whole, so to speak, whole step, a whole series of interconnected steps and legal enactments within the framework of the second stage of the reform, we must arrive at the harmonization of interethnic relations and at the development of the union republics' sovereignty so

that they really are union republics. And their independence must be expanded, and thereby, their responsibility. [applause]

Comrades, we must arrange things in such a way that any person, whatever nationality he may be and wherever he may live, feels at ease—at ease in Russia, at ease in the Baltic region, in Transcaucasia, everywhere. If any other approach is taken, if we now begin dividing our peoples and ethnic groups, and laying down boundaries, I assure you, comrades, it would be the road to disaster. If we were to begin plowing up our country...[pauses] nobody is capable of dividing it. No. It is only through respectfulness, through equality and the development of sovereignty, mutual links, the broad development of cultures, languages, exchanges between them, mutual links and cooperation that everything can be resolved. And I am convinced that with such a...[pauses] within the framework of this democratic process now under way in the country, and which is engendering these new structures capable of hearing interests, discussing and detecting them, and turning them into policy and practice, we will arrive at solutions to these issues.

I think—let everyone be confident that we will find the answers. These are very important, burning issues. Holding more than one post—I think that this question can only be answered in the context of the current situation, of the current stage of society's development. Today I am convinced that our 19th party conference passed the correct recommendation. I am convinced, comrades, deeply, that today this is necessary—because the process of restructuring and political reform, the process of dividing functions, the realization by the party of its role as the political vanguard, and the releasing of it from a state and economic function—this process is still at the very beginning. Here it is necessary and important that without the party's position—without, so to say, leaning on the party, these processes will go badly, badly. I have spoken about this and remain convinced: Today this is necessary. Today this is necessary.

There is, I think, simply no other way to go. We will go through with the term of office given to us for this period for which we have been elected, and I am sure that this theme will be one of the main ones when we have to undergo new elections, and perhaps before. Perhaps the congress will return to it, but I think that the congress will, for the time being, soon—that is, the congress probably will for the meantime still think in the same way as the conference thought. I can convinced that for the time being, in the current context, this is correct. [applause]

And a last thing, comrades, we must look into many things. Here personal themes have been touched upon, with personal references, themes. I have attempted to speak about some things I would like to speak about again. The dacha question, since it has been raised directly in that way, the dacha question, I have said already, in my life, in my whole life, neither I nor members of my family have had dachas and do not have any, personal ones. As far as state dachas are concerned, they are provided for the current operating leadership. Well, not only the leadership. I will single them out now. We have dachas for academicians, dachas for writers, dachas for [word indistinct], and so on. This question I will speak about a little later. I have generalized. On the dachas in the Crimea: Yes, we have finished the construction of the dachas started and on those which were planned. All this is resolved, and the construction process finishes with this. Moreover, another process has started. We have had a look and have now handed over around a dozen dachas already—handed them over—to the public health services, veterans, for cultural purposes, and so on. We will view this process—everything which may be freed and is not needed for purposes of representation and for serving the leadership. I am convinced that the top leadership is a limited circle of people—state dachas need to be supplied to them for the period of their work, especially as there are, is, a democratic process also taking place here. I remain convinced. But this is a problem. I would say, let us all of these privileges. [sentence as heard] They exist everywhere, comrades.

When I started studying the situation I didn't suspect it—there are privileges everywhere. For heroes [of the Soviet Union], for miners, in the north, for academicians, in trade unions, enterprises have their own privileges. Someone said today...I heard on the television, I mean on the radio, this morning when I woke, a Comrade Postnikov, from my native region, saying that they give pensioners an additional R70 from their profits, that is, to those who worked there for 20 or 30 years. We have medical services that have proceeded and developed within the departments; the ministries have both their own holiday homes and sanatoria; our factories sometimes have the kinds of facilities that we have not yet dreamed of. You know what we need to do? I think...[pauses] I want to put forward this proposal, and I will perhaps repeat myself if it is necessary for me to deliver a report. But I can say it now: Let's set up a Supreme Soviet commission; let's make an inventory of what has taken shape here and of how it took shape, and let's debate everything sensibly, you understand, and adopt it, adopt everything on the whole package of these issues. [applause]

These are the specific matters that I wanted to raise. I thank you for your words of great support. I accept your business-like critical observations as coming from comrades, and I am open to them. You can be assured that I will exploit neither my present nor future position to do that for the sake of which...[pauses] against which I have been fighting, will fight, and am resolved to devote everything, inasfar as I am entrusted by the people and the party to take the policy of democracy to its conclusion and prevent what has happened in our (?country) ever happening again. [applause]

Yeltsin Declines Presidency

LD2505214989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 25 May 89

[Relay of the second session of the Congress of People's Deputies held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—live]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Esteemed comrades deputies. I am grateful to the comrades for suggesting that I stand as a candidate. At the same time, however, I think that in the present situation...I mean, first taking into account the 19th party conference decisions on combining positions, then taking into account the decisions of the party Central Committee May plenum, which recommended Mikhail Sergeyevich for that post, and where I was asked point blank whether I would fulfill the decision of the party Central Committee May plenum and answered that, of course, as a Communist I would fulfill it, and since I favor restructuring, but favor conducting it by more resolute and decisive actions, I abstained from voting there.

Of course, I did this on the grounds that there should, all the same, be some alternative candidates put forward, if only to set an example, if only to educate our young people so that they take further steps ahead in this direction in the future. Since I have been unemployed since yesterday, I could, of course, working hard and recognizing the restructuring, agree to some proposal that might be put forward, but I am now withdrawing. [applause] [passage omitted]

Third Session Sets Voting Procedure

LD2505185289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 May 89

[Relay of the third session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—live]

[Text] [Video shows deputies taking their seats. On the rostrum, Vorotnikov stands to speak, Gorbachev seated on his left on screen and Lukyanov on his right on screen]

[Vorotnikov] Esteemed comrade deputies, let us continue our proceedings. Here to speak is Deputy Osipyan, chairman of the Congress Enumeration Commission.

[Osipyan] Esteemed comrade deputies, in the interval just now a session of the Enumeration Commission that was elected by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies took place. The chairmanship of the Enumeration Commission has been entrusted to me. People's Deputy Vladimir Petrovich Anishchev, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, was elected secretary of the Enumeration Commission. You already have the procedure for holding a secret ballot, as adopted by us this morning. So, evidently, there is no need to read it out. You are familiar with it, we hope. At the same time I should like to draw your attention to certain procedural issues connected with holding a secret ballot to elect the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Every deputy will be issued with a ballot paper like this for electing the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [video shows Osipyan waving a pink sheet of paper] In accordance with what we carried out and voted on today, this ballot paper bears the name of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Now, the voting itself. The ballot papers will be issued in the Georgiyevskiy Hall of the Great Kremlin Palace. Members of the Enumeration Commission will issue the ballot papers to you on production of your USSR People's Deputy passes. Twenty-one tables will be set up in the Georgiyevskiy Hall. The tables will be lettered to indicate where ballot papers will be issued to deputies according to surname and the relevant notes made. I draw your attention once again to the fact that all the voting deputies have been put in alphabetical order, irrespective of how they were (?elected). So you will all receive a ballot paper at the relevant table, after which you can perform the act of voting itself. To this end, 44 booths for secret voting have been installed in the same hall. Having received the ballot paper, each deputy is to go to any of the free booths, and this is what he is to do there. He is to complete the ballot paper; in other words he leaves or crosses out the candidature marked there.

Next, on leaving the booth, you place your voting slip in a secret ballot box. There is a line of these boxes set out on one side of the booths; that is, the side you emerge from after passing through the booth. I repeat once more: You can only get to the box where the voting slips are placed by passing through the booth. Consequently, the members of the Enumeration Commission are going to make sure that nobody goes round the side or votes in any other way. You can only put your voting slip in by going through the booth. In each booth there is a little shelf with a pencil and a felt pen in a little jug, and you record your vote. I would ask you to make sure you don't tear the voting slip while doing this. In a word, be tidy when you're voting.

After voting, the people's deputies can go out of the building of the Great Kremlin Palace to Sobornaya Square, or else go through to the ground floor, and there go down to the canteen from the Georgiyevskiy Hall. I draw your attention to the fact that the passageway here is quite narrow, so that there should be nobody going the other way. The people's deputies on their way to vote will go along the second floor—I'll give you directions in a minute—and they will then either leave the building or go to the ground floor before returning to the foyer. Then we will have to wait until the votes are counted before. Then we will have to wait until the votes are counted before we can confirm the protocol.

[Indistinct mumbles from audience] No, comrades, in line with the procedure it is proposed that this be done

today, given the great political significance of this act, comrades. The entire world is awaiting our ballot and the results, and we cannot leave [words indistinct].

Now, comrades, we must decide in what order to leave the hall because the passageway is narrow and the speed of voting if limited by the rate at which the slips are handed out, so that we need not all leave the hall at once. Therefore, the following order is suggested: the deputies sitting in or behind row 21 should leave from the front via the doors at the back of the hall. You then go up to the second floor balcony, either by the escalator or on foot if you want, and then you will see signs directing you to the Georgiyevskiy Hall, which you will enter via the Winter Garden and the Great Kremlin Hall, and there, in the Georgiyevskiy Hall, you will vote. So as not to return to this question, comrades, I would just mention the following. As regards today's ballot, the procedure is clear to us; we shall count the votes and we shall not have any alternative options, so to speak, today. But as regards the ballot to elect the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet, if you look at the instructions distributed to you—i.e. the procedure for holding the secret ballot—they have been put together in a fairly general way.

In other words, at the end, before...[changes thought] after the count, there could be various possibilities, as you will yourselves realize. There is a proposal that this question should be discussed and brought to your notice before the voting for the Supreme Soviet, and not today. This is because otherwise in 1 or 2 days time, when we go on to vote, people will have forgotten, and it will be best to remind everyone. Well, that is all, comrades, and on that note I can end what I have to say. Are there any questions for the Enumeration Commission? Is everything clear? No important questions? So there will be a single interval for the voting and for the count. May I ask you not to go anywhere, naturally, and to stay here within the Great Kremlin Palace, and we shall have to meet to confirm the second protocol of the Enumeration Commission today.

[Vorotnikov] It will be at about 2300...about 2300.

[Osipyan] I hope...we hope it will be no later than that.

[Vorotnikov] Would the comrades please bear in mind that only people's deputies will be taking part in the next session. No visitors. That is all. Please begin the vote.

Fourth Session Elects Gorbachev Chairman

LD2505204589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1854 GMT 25 May 89

[Relay of the fourth session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—live]

[Text] [Vorotnikov] Esteemed comrade deputies, let us continue our work. The floor is given to Deputy Osipyan, chairman of the Tellers' Commission of the congress:

[Osipyan] Comrade deputies: In line with the procedure confirmed by the congress for holding the secret ballot and determining its outcome at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the Tellers' Commission has counted the votes cast on the election of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and established the following. The following USSR people's deputy candidates were named on the voting slips for secret elections as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet: Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeyevich. There were 2,221 voting slips issued to the people's deputies for the ballot. On opening the ballot boxes, 2,210 voting slips were found. There were no invalid voting slips. The votes were distributed as follows: 2,123 slips were cast for Comrade Gorbachev; 87 slips were cast against him. Thus, in the election of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 95.6 percent of those who took part in the secret ballot voted for Comrade Gorbachev. [applause]

Comrade Gorbachev, Mikhail Sergeyevich, USSR people's deputy, has thereby been elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [applause] Chairman of the Tellers' Commission, secretary of the Tellers' Commission, members of the Tellers' Commission.

[Vorotnikov] Are there any questions, comrades, for the chairman of the Tellers' Commission? No questions. I move that the protocol of the Tellers' Commission be confirmed. Please get your identity cards ready.

Who is in favor of the proposal—please show? Please lower your hands. Who is against it? I can't see (?anyone). Are there any abstentions? No. The protocol of the Tellers' Commission is passed. Thus, as a result of a secret ballot, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies adopts the following decision on the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies decides to elect Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [applause] The floor is given to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. [Gorbachev steps down from the platform and walks to the rostrum]

[Gorbachev] It is now clear that I have to reply to you. I wish to express words of profound gratitude to you for the great confidence that you, the representatives of the Soviet people, have shown in me. My enormous thanks to you. [applause] I take my new duties as a spur to use everything I have at my disposal—together with you, the new corps of USSR people's deputies, and relying on the support we received from working people in the recent election campaign—to use these new opportunities and duties of mine to do everything to advance our great cause of restructuring in the interests of the renewal of our society, the development and strengthening of democracy and glasnost, and the improvement of people's lives and standing in our society. I will use what my new duties give me toward that, and not for anything else. You may have no doubt on that score. Another thing, I think—I assess the results of the voting and the trust you have vested in me today as support for what we

are doing, and it is a vast spur to proceed more confidently. Let us do so better than we have done so far, and let us devote the days of the congress proceedings, and then the Supreme Soviet, to searching for the most effective ways to make headway along the path of restructuring with the aim of achieving in the very near future a solution to our urgent problems and of course laying solid foundations for our country's advancement along the path to a renewed society. I hope that we shall succeed in this, since we now have both the experience and an enormous desire and support from the people. Thank you. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 26 May 1989 carries the above paragraph in its Second Edition on page 1 as a TASS report entitled "Statement by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev"] [applause] [video shows Gorbachev returning to his place on the platform]

[Vorotnikov] Esteemed comrade deputies, an adjournment is declared until to 1000 [0600 GMT] tomorrow morning.

PRAVDA Publishes Gorbachev Biography

PM2605092989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed biography: "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev"]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was born into a peasant family in the village of Privolnoye in Stavropol Kray's Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon 2 March 1931. From the age of 13 he worked periodically on a collective farm, and from the age of 15 he was an assistant combine operator at a machine and tractor station, combining studies with work in the field. He graduated from the law faculty of Moscow's M.V. Lomonosov State University (1955) and, as an external student, from the economics faculty of Stavropol Agricultural Institute (1967).

After graduating from university, he worked in his home district, in Stavropol Kray—he began in the legal profession, but was soon promoted to work in the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol]: He was deputy chief of the Komsomol Kray Committee [kraykom] Agitprop Department, first secretary of Stavropol City Komsomol Committee, and second and then first secretary of the Komsomol Kraykom.

In March 1962 he was nominated as party organizer of the Stavropol Territorial Production Collective and State Farm Administration, and in December of the same year he was approved as chief of the CPSU Kraykom Party Organs Department. In September 1966 he was elected first secretary of Stavropol City Party Committee. From August 1968 he worked as second secretary of Stavropol CPSU Kraykom, and in April 1970 he was elected first secretary.

He became a member of the CPSU Central Committee in 1971. He was a delegate to the 22d, 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th party congresses and the 19th party conference.

In 1978 he was elected a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and in 1979 a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. In October 1980 he was promoted from candidate to full membership of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

In 1985 he became general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He has been a deputy of several convocations of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. In 1988 he became chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He is chairman of the USSR Defense Council.

At the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on 25 May 1989 he was elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

A number of state awards have been conferred on him: three Orders of Lenin, the Orders of the October Revolution and the Labor Red Banner, the "Badge of Honor," and medals.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is the initiator of the revolutionary process of restructuring all aspects of the life of Soviet society. The concept of the new political thinking, which is increasingly being asserted in the world, and the package of major initiatives in building a secure, nuclear-free world are linked with his name.

Congress Credentials Commission Report Published

PM2605115589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 May 89 Second Edition pp 2, 4

[Report of Congress of USSR People's Deputies Credentials Commission delivered by Deputy B.V. Gidaspov at 25 May evening session of Congress of USSR People's Deputies]

[Text] Comrade deputies! The elections of USSR people's deputies which have taken place complete one of the most important stages of the reform of the USSR's political system.

For the first time in many decades truly democratic elections have been held in our country. Millions of people throughout the country have taken the most committed part in the nomination of candidates and the election debate.

The past election campaign affected the complex underlying processes of our life and helped to reveal public opinion on a broad range of questions of domestic and foreign policy. The voters and public organizations gave the people's deputies thousands of mandates and proposals. The elections merged organically into the process of restructuring and became a nationwide referendum in its support.

Comrades! The Congress Credentials Commission elected with 47 members, guided by article 110 of the USSR Constitution, has verified the powers of the USSR

people's deputies elected in March, April, and May 1989 and submits the result of this work for your examination.

In accordance with the USSR Constitution and the election law, elections of USSR people's deputies were held in 750 territorial and 750 national-territorial okrugs and for the first time directly from all-union public organizations, which were given 750 deputies' seats.

According to the report from the Central Electoral Commission delivered by its chairman, Comrade V.P. Orlov, the electoral okrugs and public organizations created the necessary conditions for holding elections in accordance with the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections.

As is well known, the election law expanded the opportunities for the labor collectives and public organizations to nominate candidate deputies. This right was granted for the first time to voters at their place of residence.

Okrug election meetings were held in 836 electoral okrugs to discuss the candidates who had been nominated and their election programs and to take decisions on submitting candidates for registration.

The election measures as a rule took place in an atmosphere of openness and glasnost. On election day the candidate deputies' agents, representatives of the labor collectives and public organizations, and workers of the mass media were present at the electoral wards and sessions of the electoral commissions while the votes were counted and the results of the elections established.

In all 9,505 people were nominated as candidate people's deputies for 2,250 seats. Here 282 candidate deputies were nominated by meetings of voters at their place of residence. Of the tens of thousands of candidacies proposed by the grass-roots collectives, 923 candidate deputies were nominated from the public organizations. The foundation was thus laid for the practise of elections providing a real choice.

Some 5,074 people were registered as candidate USSR people's deputies, 2,195 of them for territorial okrugs, 1,967 for national-territorial okrugs, and 912 from public organizations. In 399 okrugs just one candidate deputy ran.

The Congress Credentials Commission, having checked the electoral commissions' protocols submitted to it on the registration of candidate deputies and their statements agreeing to run for the relevant okrugs and public organizations, deems the registration of all candidates to be legal.

Some 172.8 million voters, or 89.8 percent of the number of those on the lists, took part in the elections of USSR people's deputies 26 March this year. For the first time in our electoral practice runoffs and repeat elections were held within the framework of a single election campaign in 76 and 198 okrugs respectively. Elections to replace a deceased deputy were held in territorial electoral okrug No 619 in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

Some 16,200 voters, or 84.2 percent of the total number on the lists, took part in elections from all-union public organizations. Repeat elections were held in five public organizations.

On the basis of the electoral commissions' protocols the Central Electoral Commission registered 2,249 elected candidates.

In summing up the results of the elections it must be noted that the Central Electoral Commission, okrug and ward electoral commissions, and public organizations' electoral commissions as a whole ensured that the elections were conducted in accordance with the demands of the Constitution and the Law on Elections.

At the same time the Credentials Commission considers it essential to report to the Congress that during the term of its activity the Central Electoral Commission received over 8,000 letters and telegrams and about 1,000 citizens visited reception with questions about the organization of the elections.

Citizens expressed dissatisfaction with the work of the electoral commission, the organization of the nomination of candidates, and the holding of okrug electoral meetings. There were also critical comments leveled against the Central Electoral Commission. There were indications of the inconsistent application in a number of places of some of the provisions of the electoral law. Complaints came in of the unjustified refusal to register candidate deputies.

The Central Electoral Commission also examine complaints of unequal conditions for candidates' participation in electoral events, in particular complaints about how some of them had broader opportunities for using the mass media.

Instances were reported of the incorrect attitude of candidates and their agents toward each other, of attempts to put pressure on the voters. Attention was drawn to the bias in covering the preparation for elections in individual electoral okrugs.

The credentials commission has examined information from the Central Electoral Commission on the results of the checking of statements and complaints sent to it on questions of the legitimacy of the election of individual candidates. A number of them cast doubts on the results of the election of USSR people's deputies.

All these appeals were examined by the Central Electoral Commission. The Central Electoral Commission established no violations of the law casting doubt on the results of the elections. The Credentials Commission considers it possible to agree with this conclusion.

At the same time the members of the Credentials Commission noted that existing shortcomings in preparing and holding the elections were caused to a certain degree by the imperfection of individual norms of the Law on Elections.

There was also an examination of the letters and statements which had arrived at the Credentials Commission. They express individual citizens' disagreement with the results of the elections. Negative assessments are expressed of the elected deputies' political, professional, and moral qualities. Some letters suggest not recognizing the powers of deputies whose speeches contained, in the citizens' opinion, positions which do not accord with the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws and for other reasons.

Having checked these appeals, the commission failed to establish violations of legislation on the elections while other questions are not within its competence. The commission considers it possible to recognize the powers of all USSR people's deputies and these letters and statements are to be passed on to the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet.

As a result the Credentials Commission is submitting a proposal that the powers of all 2,249 USSR people's deputies be recognized. At the elections they received, as required, the necessary number of votes from voters and participants in congresses, conferences, and plenums of all-union organs and public organizations which took part in the voting.

Thus, if the commission's proposal is accepted, as of today there is just one electoral okrug in which no deputy has been elected.

Comrades!
In the union republics, taking into account the results of the elections from public organizations, the following groups of USSR people's deputies have formed. In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic—1,099 people's deputies, in the Ukrainian SSR—262, in the Belorussian SSR—94, in the Uzbek SSR—108, in the Kazakh SSR—99, in the Georgian SSR—91, in the Azerbaijan SSR—72, in the Lithuanian SSR—58, in the Moldavian SSR—55, in the Latvian SSR—52, in the Kirghiz SSR—53, in the Tajik SSR—57, in the Armenian SSR—53, in the Turkmen SSR—48, and in the Estonian SSR—48 people's deputies. All the autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs are represented at the Congress. Representatives of 65 nationalities have been elected USSR people's deputies.

Of all the people's deputies 88.1 percent have been elected for the first time to the country's supreme representative organ of state power. Some 1,957 people's deputies, or 87 percent, are CPSU members and candidate members.

Our Congress reflects sufficiently fully the socioprofessional structure of Soviet society.

Of the Congress membership 557 people's deputies, or 24.8 percent, are workers in industry, construction, transport, and communications, and 425 people's deputies, or 18.9 percent, are agricultural workers. Among us we have 532, or 23.7 percent, who are workers and ordinary kolkhoz members, those who by their labor and specific deeds are implementing the program for our society's renewal.

A considerable number of deputies' seats—616, or 27.4 percent—were given by voters to representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia. Some 1,806 deputies, or 80.3 percent, are aged between 30 and 60 while 187 deputies are under 30, 9 of them being 21 years old. Some 133 people's deputies are members of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League. Some 352 women have been elected people's deputies.

The general educational level of the deputies elected to the supreme organ of state power is characterized by the following figures. Some 1,702 people's deputies, or 75.7 percent, have higher and incomplete higher education, one in five has an academic degree or academic title, and they include 140 academicians and corresponding members of the academies of sciences of the USSR and the union republics. Some 528 deputies, or 23.5 percent, have general secondary and specialized secondary education.

Among the people's deputies 152, or 6.8 percent, are leaders of industrial associations and enterprises and 192, or 8.5 percent, are leaders of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agro-industrial associations.

The deputies include 316 scientific, higher school, and educational workers, 96 national health workers, 146 cultural and arts workers, and 58 mass media workers.

The people's deputies include 237 party workers. They are secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee and union republic communist party central committees, secretaries of kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party committees, and of primary party organizations. Every other deputy has experience of work in soviets of people's deputies.

The USSR Armed Forces are represented by 80 people's deputies. For the first time 7 religious figures have been elected people's deputies.

As can be seen from the figures cited above, the composition of the USSR people's deputies ensures the opportunity for the effective work of the new supreme organs of state power.

Comrades!
The Congress Credentials Commission expresses the conviction that the USSR people's deputies will honorably justify this lofty title and will always be up to the demands made on the deputy by the people.

Credentials Commission Members Noted

PM2605111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Congress of USSR People's Deputies Credentials Commission"]

[Text]

Chairman of the Commission

Gidaspov, Boris Veniaminovich, general director of the "GIPKH" Science and Production Association, chairman of the board of the "Tekhnokhim" intersectorial state association, Leningrad City.

Deputy Chairmen of the Commission

Ivashko, Vladimir Antonovich, second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Klikunene, Vanda Styaponovna, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, Vilnius City.

Commission Secretary

Oripov, Abdulla, writer, secretary of the Uzbek Writers Union Board.

Commission Members

Agrba, Violetta Zosimovna, laboratory leader at the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Research Institute of Experimental Pathology and Therapeutics, Georgian SSR.

Akramova, Tamara Musoyevna, department chief at Matchinskiy Rayon Hospital, Leninabad Oblast, Tajik SSR.

Amzarakov, Vladimir Grigoryevich, automobile driver at the Kalinin State Farm [sovkhoz], Askizskiy Rayon, Khakass Autonomous Oblast, Krasnoyarsk Kray.

Bosenko, Nikolay Vasilyevich, pensioner, Moscow City.

Vasilenko, Mikhail Fedorovich, chief of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Party Organization and Cadre Work Department, Frunze City.

Vladislavlev, Aleksandr Pavlovich, first secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies, Moscow City.

Vorobyeva, Anastasiya Nikolayevna, leader of a team of plasterers of the Mobile Mechanized Column No 1, Kashira City, Moscow Oblast.

Geyba, Yanis Aloizovich, first secretary of Daugavpilsskiy Latvian Communist Party Rayon Committee [raykom].

Grishchenkov, Grigoriy Zakharovich, chairman of the Belorussian Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives Board, Minsk City.

Gromov, Boris Vsevolodovich, colonel general, commander of the Red Banner Kiev Military District.

Gubin, Viktor Aleksandrovich, technology engineer at the "Solombalskiy Tsellyulozno-Bumazhnyy Kombinat" Production Association, Arkhangelsk City.

Guskova, Lidiya Mikhaylovna, chairman of the Astrakhan Oblast Trade Union Council, Astrakhan City.

Dementey, Nikolay Ivanovich, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

Dovlatyan, Frunzik Vaginakovich, artistic leader of "Armenfilm" Movie Studio, Yerevan City.

Dumbravan, Mikhail Georgiyevich, chairman of Ryshkanskiy Rayon's Kirov Collective Farm [kolkhoz], Moldavian SSR.

Zhivotov, Aleksey Aleksandrovich, chairman of the "Rossiya" Kolkhoz, Oktyabrskiy Rayon, Rostov Oblast.

Zaslavskiy, Ilya Iosifovich, scientific staffer at the Moscow A.N. Kosygin Textiles Institute.

Klimuk, Petr Ilich, major general of aviation, chief of the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center Political Department, Zvezdnyy Gorodok, Shchelkovskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast.

Knyazev, Nikolay Trifonovich, first secretary of Kustanay Kazakh Communist Party Oblast Committee [obkom].

Konovalov, Aleksandr Ivanovich, rector of Kazan State University.

Korshunov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, team leader at the Tashkent V.P. Chkalov Aircraft Production Association, Uzbek SSR.

Kublashvili, Vakhtang Vladimirovich, assembly fitter at the Tbilisi Aircraft Production Association named for Dimitrov.

Kukushkin, Nikolay Timofeyevich, director of the "Severnyy Klyuch" Sovkhoz, Pokhvistnevskiy Rayon, Pokhvistnevskiy Rayon, Kuybyshev Oblast.

Kukhar, Ivan Ivanovich, chairman of the Vladimir Ilich Kolkhoz, Leninskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast.

Kucher, Valeriy Nikolayevich, editor of the newspaper MAGNITOGORSKIY RABOCHIY, Chelyabinsk Oblast.

Laurinkus, Mechis Mechko, scientific worker at the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law.

Marchenko, Georgiy Aleksandrovich, chief physician at the Nizhnyaya Tura City Central Hospital, Sverdlovsk Oblast.

Medikov, Viktor Yakovlevich, prorector of the Siberian Metallurgical Institute, Novokuznetsk City, Kemerovo Oblast.

Pamfilova, Ella Aleksandrovna, chairman of the trade union committee at the "Mosenergo" production association's central mechanical repair plant, Moscow City.

Polozkov, Ivan Kuzmich, first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kray Committee.

Rasputin, Valentin Grigoryevich, writer, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board, Irkutsk City.

Rzayev, Firudin Orudzh ogly, fitter at the Baku Tire Plant named for the 40th anniversary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party.

Ryzhov, Aleksey Andreyevich, chief designer at the Ufa machine building design office, Bashkir ASSR.

Savitskiy, Mikhail Andreyevich, artist, leader of the USSR Academy of Arts Painting Workshop, Belorussian SSR.

Salykov, Kakimbek, first secretary of Karakalpak Uzbek Communist Party Obkom, Nukus City.

Selimov, Nurnazar, first secretary of Kizyl-Arvatskiy Turkmen Communist Party Raykom.

Fedorov, Svyatoslav Nikolayevich, general director of the "Mikrokhirurgiya Glaza" Intersector Scientific and Technical Complex, chairman of the Soviet Charity and Health Foundation, Moscow City.

Khaug, Arvo Voldemarovich, senior physician at the Tallinn Republic Psychoneurology Hospital.

Khokhlov, Aleksandr Fedorovich, rector of Gorkiy State University named for N.I. Lobachevskiy.

Tsybukh, Valeriy Ivanovich, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee.

Shulyak, Vasiliy Korneyevich, chairman of the "Trud" Kolkhoz, Teofipolskiy Rayon, Khmelnitskiy Oblast.

Yakovlev, Aleksandr Maksimovich, doctor of juridical sciences, sector chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, Moscow City.

Yakushin, Ivan Nikitovich, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz, Lyuberetskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast.

IZVESTIYA Reports on First Day of Congress

LD2605105689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondents A. Plutnik, V. Shchepotkin: "Moscow, 25 May. Kremlin Palace of Congresses"]

[Text] In past years each of us has many times had occasion to describe the work of various high organs of state power. And it must be said that often it was possible to operate on the basis of precedent, so to speak. After all, much was determined beforehand: who will say what, what decision will be adopted and how, who will be elected to what body, and whose opinion will once again prove to be the only correct one.

The most powerful impression from the first sitting of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies is one of unpredictability. Though at first glance, why should this be? The country's Constitution apparently declares clearly: The first Congress after elections elects the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and his first deputy, and appoints the chairman of the country's Council of Ministers and a whole series of other top state officials. So we know what is to be done. True, the question arises: How? But only yesterday that question did not seem to worry the then deputies much. A persistent idea had grown up over many years: The appropriate person will tell us what must be done.

But these are different times. And a significant proportion of the deputies are different. That is why for many of them— and this became clear in the course of preparations for the Congress—there were no secondary matters. And since, as V.P. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, said on opening the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, those present in Moscow reflect every shade of public opinion, the only thing that can be predicted this time is unpredictability.

And so it was. But that comes later. First, a few words of a purely procedural nature.

At precisely 1000 hours V.P. Orlov, in accordance with the Constitution, opened the Congress. He congratulated the deputies on their election to the country's highest organ of state power and the great confidence invested in them by the Soviet people.

The elections and preparations for them, he noted, took place under conditions of broad, hitherto unheard-of glasnost and openness and a tumultuous growth in the working people's political activeness. This was confirmed particularly convincingly on Sunday 26 March, when more than 172 million Soviet people, nearly 90 percent of all the voters on the register, came to the polling stations to support restructuring by expressing every shade of public opinion.

The elections showed that restructuring has become the cause of the whole people. Soviet people came out in favor of the further deepening of restructuring and speedy changes for the better in all spheres of life. With their novelty and the high degree of interest on the part of the masses, the elections added to and enriched the face of restructuring. They were a step of fundamental significance in the development of democracy and advanced our society along the path outlined by the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union party conference.

The elections confirmed that the people see Lenin's party as a force capable of rallying Soviet society, ensuring its consolidation, and finding effective ways of resolving urgent problems and overcoming difficulties.

We had never had a more powerful nationwide referendum in favor of the Communist Party and its course of renewal. Today it can be said that the elections that took place were a major contribution to the practical implementation of the reform of the political system and the establishment of people's power. They took Soviet democracy to a qualitatively new level and will go down in the history of our socialist state as one of the most important milestones in the development of all public life.

During the election campaign the Soviet people acquired unique political experience. Millions of voters have only now really realized that their voice means much in the resolution of major state questions in the country's sociopolitical development.

This election campaign presented a far from uniform picture. It reflected the full diversity of positions, viewpoints, and opinions that exist in our society. It was a kind of proving ground where for the first time the new provisions of the USSR Constitution were put into practice and the fundamentally new Law on Elections tested. In general this law enabled us to hold elections on a genuinely democratic basis and achieve a new electoral practice.

At the same time, at election meetings in the labor collectives and in the mass media, the desire was expressed for the amendment of particular norms and procedures laid down by the law. These all merit attention and demand analysis. All the proposals on these questions that the Central Electoral Commission received will be handed over to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The speaker announced that 2,155 USSR people's deputies, out of the 2,249 elected, are present at the Congress. Detailed figures on the election results and the composition of the deputies, he said, will be reported by the Credentials Commission, which will be elected by the Congress and to which the Central Electoral Commission will hand over all the documentation necessary for verifying the deputies' credentials.

In this auditorium today, he went on, there are workers, collective farm [kolkhoz] members, captains of industry, scientists, cultural personalities, servicemen, and people of various professions and different generations. The composition of the deputies reflects the multinational nature of our country. Among them are representatives of 65 nations and ethnic groups. The present body of deputies has to tackle tasks of statewide significance. These tasks are entrusted by our Constitution first and foremost to the Congress of People's Deputies, which, as the supreme organ of state power, is authorized to examine any matter under the jurisdiction of the USSR and determine the main line of activity of the Supreme Soviet and all the other state organs.

The attention and thoughts of all working people are today focused on the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. They expect much of it. First and foremost, a response to the questions that concern people in connection with the further course of restructuring. The voters gave to the deputies, together with their seats, their faith in a better life and in a flourishing and mighty soviet socialist state.

The speaker expressed confidence that the Congress of People's Deputies will justify the people's aspirations and every deputy will contribute his share of experience, intelligence, and labor to joint efforts for our society to achieve new levels of socioeconomic and spiritual progress.

In accordance with Article 110 of the USSR Constitution V.P. Orlov declared the first sitting of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies open.

The first unforeseen event followed immediately. Barely had the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission paused, when Deputy V.F. Tolpezhnikov from Latvia ran, rather than walked, onto the platform. He proposed that the Congress honor the memory of those who died during the events in Tbilisi on 9 April, and promptly read out a deputy's question concerning the responsibility of the specific individuals who authorized the use of military force.

Of course, many of our readers saw all this for themselves on television. As you know, the Congress is being relayed and will, according to M.S. Gorbachev's assurance in response to a note from the auditorium, continue to be relayed in full. This simplifies our task, in one way: It is possible to summarize to a considerable degree, especially since IZVESTIYA is also for the first time beginning to use

its own journalists to provide direct reportages. On the other hand, when you have to write about what millions of people have seen, you cannot help having misgivings: You might miss something important.

We think that each day of the Congress sittings, like each individual chapter of a book, will have some key element of its own. At today's sitting it was the lesson in democratic methods both for the deputies themselves, and for all of us voters and viewers, under the conditions of the formation of new and still unfamiliar organs of power. And here it is equally important to observe moderation, as the saying goes, in all things: not to "overorganize" the Congress and not to "drown it in talk."

All the same, it seems the first sitting was able to a large extent to pass between this Scylla and Charybdis. In 2 hours 10 minutes many prodecural questions were resolved. And this in spite of the fact that on many items on the agenda there were alternative proposals. Even for the agenda itself.

After the election of a Congress presidium of 18 people (15 from the union republics, plus M.S. Gorbachev, A.I. Lukyanov, and V.P. Orlov), the agenda approved the day before by the Council of Representatives was submitted to the Congress, consisting of the 10 following items.

1. Election of the Congress Credentials Commission.

2. Election of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

3. Election of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

4. Election of the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

5. The main avenues of USSR domestic and foreign policy. Speaker—the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

6. Program for forthcoming activity by the USSR Government. Speaker—the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

7. Appointment of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

8. Election of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

9. Appointment of the chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR general prosecutor, and the USSR chief state arbiter.

10. Various.

But Deputy A.D. Sakharov immediately mounted the platform and proposed certain amendments.

He submitted a proposal to adopt a decree of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies as one of the first items on the agenda. Restructuring, he said, is a revolution, and the word "decree" ["dekret"] is the most appropriate. It is the exclusive right of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to adopt USSR laws and appoint the highest USSR officials, including the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the chairman of the People's Control Committee, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR general prosecutor, and the USSR chief arbiter. In accordance with this, in the deputy's opinion, amendments should be made to the articles of the USSR Constitution concerning the rights of the country's Supreme Soviet.

The following deputies also spoke in the discussion of the agenda and order of work for the Congress: N.A. Nazarbayev, G.Kh. Popov, Ye.N. Meshalkin, R.K. Shchedrin, V.N. Belyayev, A.G. Kostenyuk, and Yu.Yu. Boldyrev.

Proposals were put forward for changing the order of examination of questions; in particular it was proposed first to hear the reports and discuss them, and then to hold the elections of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the USSR Supreme Soviet. On the other hand, a number of speakers stressed the validity of the agenda and the order of work for the Congress in the form in which they were submitted to the conference of representatives of delegations held the day before.

The deputies approved the procedure for counting the results of open voting and appointed a group for counting votes.

As a result of a vote the agenda and order of work proposed to the Congress were adopted by an overwhelming majority (with 379 against and 9 abstentions).

The deputies went on to examine the provisional regulations for sittings of the Congress. The following spoke on this question: K.A. Antanavichyus, V.V. Landsbergis, A.V. Levashev, A.A. Plotniyeks, S.B. Stankevich, Yu.R. Boyars, A. Ye. Sebentsov, G.M. Kurochka, A.M. Adamovich, A.N. Saunin, K.D. Lubenchenko, A.D. Sakharov, V.I. Revnivtsev, B.B. Gidaspov, and A.P. Aydak.

After the debate, the provisional regulations were approved, with 17 abstentions.

The Congress elected a Credentials Commission to verify the credentials of USSR people's deputies.

The first sitting of the Congress ended.

Perhaps one clear sign of the times was not only the desire of many deputies to speak out frankly on the subject of the agenda, but the very possibility of doing this. Our readers will be able to see for themselves what was said at the Congress and how. IZVESTIYA will publish all the speeches in full. Our task is to convey as

accurately as possible the atmosphere of the sitting, the enthusiasm that prevailed in the auditorium, and later outside it. After all, which of us could have supposed, only recently, that before the eyes of the whole country one of the leaders of Moscow's informal groups, the young deputy S.B. Stankevich, would dispute the opinion of Deputy...M.S. Gorbachev? But that is what happened. Remember: Stankevich proposed the use of voting by name [poimennoye golosovaniye] on the most important questions, on condition that the proposal is supported by at least 100 deputies. Open voting, in his opinion, denies deputies the opportunity to vote against projects whose adoption their voters demand.

Deputy M.S. Gorbachev supported S.B. Stankevich's proposal as far as to say that voting by name will be useful in some cases. However, for his part he proposed that the question be decided not by a group of 100 deputies, but by the whole Congress. This proposal was adopted. But again, by no means in the old "atmosphere of complete unanimity." S.B. Stankevich's proposal was supported by 431 deputies.

Or who, for instance, could have supposed that debates would arise over such purely "technical" matters as the items in the provisional regulations, the opportunity of each republic to have a guaranteed number of speeches, and, finally, the candidacy of the chairman of the Credentials Commission. But all these are steps on the way to the democracy for whose establishment, the voters hope, the Congress of people's representatives has convened.

...The schedule for publication of a newspaper is tight. We therefore end our reportage without waiting for the evening session.

First Day of Congress 'Rivetingly Interesting'

PM2505185789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Nadein commentary: "Day One"]

[Text] What we saw at 1000 hours precisely was the empty presidium table. Party and government leaders did not come out of the wings, lined up according to the official pecking order. Nobody jumped up from their seats in raptures of gratitude. No young voices rang out, there were no cheerleaders, none of the unending applause which subsequently makes your palms and your conscience smart for a long time. The cheap spectacle which, for decades, was regarded as the obligatory mark of events of world-historic significance was deliberately contraindicated for this Congress.

Today everything is simpler and more serious. Life is difficult for the country and for us. Many, many people are expecting many, many things from the Congress. In my opinion they are expecting much more than is feasible even if events in the Kremlin take the most favorable course. However, whatever its outcome, the Congress will be a historic one. It cannot be otherwise, because either its success or its failure will have a decisive impact not only on us, who are alive today, but also on the fate of future generations. And not just in our country.

A historical burden is generally a heavy one. If it has no parallel, its weight is doubled. Those who claim that they can clearly see right now the paths which lead to a bright future are at best misguided. At worst, they are trying to dupe the gullible in an effort to gain political capital. This is why the full participation of all the USSR people's deputies is so important for the Congress to succeed. This is why they have paid so much attention to something which formerly was the undivided domain of the apparatus—procedural questions, that is.

It is obvious to everyone that the deputies are embarking on laying the foundations of the rule-of-law state in conditions where the standard of democracy both in society and in their own environment is still in an embryonic state. Today television screens all over the planet will reproduce, or rather highlight with professional skill, the low-grade exchanges of rejoinders, shouts from the floor, insistent defense of the proposed agenda not by opposing deputies but by the chairman himself, the old-fashioned counting of votes, and the heckling. I will admit that in some countries, where parliamentary procedures have been polished for centuries and have attained a superb finish, all this will evoke surprise, and even irony. Well, we are as we are.

But we are no longer what we used to be. We are not just learning democracy, we have already learned a fair bit. At last, a "yes" is beginning to mean yes in our country, and a "no" is beginning to mean no. Finally deputies are actually voting, rather than demonstrating indestructible unity. Naturally, all this is not a guarantee of successful work, merely its precondition. This achievement, simple at first glance, was not easy to come by for us. Consequently, no one can take it away from us again.

The Congress opened with a clash of opinions, and it is impossible to picture its further course without serious public divergences. This objectively reflects the complex situation in the country. The economy, ecology, human rights, ethnic relations, and the imperfection of legislation in general and of electoral legislation in particular—all these represent sore points in present-day political reality. Perhaps only two key questions could expect genuine, rather than outward, unanimity. First, the election for the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. And second, our country's foreign policy initiatives. Incidentally, any unprejudiced person can see that these questions are interconnected.

I believe that the proposal of one of the deputies that state officials, the press, and representatives of the public should be entitled rather than "invited" to attend the Congress sessions was highly appropriate. Of equal importance is the observation made by another deputy: People occupying the ministerial boxes (public galleries,

and seats assigned to the press) should refrain from making ironical remarks, applauding to drown the speaker's voice, or resorting to any other noisy expressions of feelings. It is obviously not worth adopting a law to this effect, but parliamentary traditions do not consist of laws alone.

Despite all the fundamentally new features which the first day of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies in our history has brought, it is possible to claim that nothing unexpected has happened. Many people foresaw it all—the heat of the debate, the total absence of a scenario, and the divergences of opinion. But it was a rivetingly interesting day. It has not disappointed us and, what is more, it has reinforced our hopes. Perhaps, for a first day, that is not so very little.

'Unprecedented Freedom' Seen in Congress Debates

LD2505192689 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The atmosphere of unprecedented freedom of debating, of genuine democratism has undoubtedly become the characteristic feature of the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies that started in the Kremlin today. On the very first day of the work of the supreme body of state power which is authorised to discuss any question under the jurisdiction of the USSR, dozens of deputies took the floor to make proposals on the agenda of the congress and other matters.

Far from all the proposals were approved by deputies. Some speeches at times evoked displeasure of the audience. But the atmosphere of broad pluralism of opinions established at the congress shows patently that it reflects the profound changes which have taken place in entire Soviet society in the process of perestroyka, implementation of the reform of the political system, assertion of the people's power.

The agenda and time limit were endorsed at the morning meeting, and the Credentials committee was elected.

The second meeting of the congress started with a report by Boris Gidaspov, chairman of the Credentials Committee. He said that the committee had not found violations of the law that would call in question results of the election. The congress found the credentials of all the 2,249 deputies valid.

During the debate on the report, some deputies raised questions not related directly to the work of the Credentials Committee. Specifically, Eldar Shengelaya, deputy from the USSR Cinema Workers Union, referred for circulation among deputies to the congress the materials about the April events in Tbilisi formulated by the commission of Georgia's Supreme Soviet. It was decided unanimously to instruct the Presidium of the Congress to form a special commission that should thoroughly analyse all the aspects of the events in Tbilisi and report of this to the Congress.

Genrikh Igityan, deputy from the Artists Union, called the attention of the congress to the tragedy in Sumgait that took the toll of many lives and proposed that the deputies discuss these events and give a political appraisal of them.

There were acute debates during the discussion of such an important question as the election of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Mikhail Gorbachev's candidature was the first to be proposed. Leningrad Deputy Aleksandr Obolenskiy nominated his own candidature, which came as a surprise. But as a results of the votin his candidature was not put on the list. Boris Yeltsin nominated as an alternative candidate withdrew his candidature.

During a heated discussion of Mikhail Gorbachev's candidature that lasted for over two hours, there were not only declarations in support of his election as chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Some of the deputies came out against one person simultaneously holding the supreme state post and the post of general secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. Others, quite the contrary, insisted on the need for such a combining of posts. A number of deputies also used this opportunity to pose to Mikhail Gorbachev specific question connected with the further development and deepening of perestroyka and the solution of important political, social and economic tasks raised in its course.

Answering questions, Gorbachev assessed the work of the congress and the debate during it as a convincing evidence that perestoyka is making progress. He assured deputies that he adheres to perestroyka, to the renewal of Soviet society on the principles of democracy, glasnost and respect for an individual.

Voting to elect chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet started in the evening, after an intermission. There is only one candidature on the ballot for secret voting, that of Mikhail Gorbachev. The results of the count of votes are expected to become known by midnight [aproximately by 20 hours GMT).

'Snap' Public Opinion Poll on Congress Published

PM2505122589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by N. Betaneli, leader of the research group, V. Gubernatov, and V. Pyzin: "Waiting, Hoping, Believing... Public Opinion on the USSR Congress of People's Deputies"]

[Text] On 16-18 May the USSR Congress of People's Deputies sociological service organized on the basis of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of State Building and Legislation carried out a snap poll of

public opinion of the congress of people's deputies and the social expectations of the working people of Moscow. Some 2,000 people were questioned.

An analysis of public opinion convinces us that people regard the forthcoming Congress as the culminating point in the development of the internal political situation in the country largely predetermining the fate of restructuring. The graphically expressed contradictory trends are combined in their awareness and there is a keen quality of debate and a clash between opposite viewpoints to be observed. In the opinion of working people, our economy is developing badly (57 percent noted that), society's level of spirituality and morality is low (48 percent), and its domestic political life is alarming (36 percent). Foreign policy was approved by 74 percent of those polled. As a whole 71 percent assessed the state of affairs in the country as being at the prerisis or even crisis point.

Some 70 percent of working people link their hopes with the Congress and its first decisions. But for 20 percent of people these hopes are interwoven with a feeling of alarm and anxiety. Some 62 percent of those polled believe that the convening of the Congress of People's Deputies will be unable within the next 2-3 years to improve the state of the economy and the population's material position while 40 percent believe that the country's life as a whole will not improve either. The critical attitude toward the present situation and immediate prospects does not mean, as the analysis of the poll results bears out, a "vote of no confidence in restructuring." It reflects acute dissatisfaction with the pace and quality of real changes and the conviction that delaying forces are operating in society (some 91 percent of working people assert this).

It is characteristic that the snap poll of Moscow inhabitants, like previous all-union polls in March and December 1988, showed that the main, basic, thing with which people's hopes and demands are connected is the further development of democracy in the country. The state of the process of society's democratization is assessed in a sharply critical manner by 70 percent of working people, who believe that "everything which has been undertaken so far is only half measures. More resolute steps are needed." Some 22 percent of those polled are not so categorical but they are also convinced that additional measures are needed guaranteeing the irreversibility of changes.

But in contrast to the pessimistic assessment of possible substantial advances in the next 2-3 years in the economy and the population's living standard, a considerable proportion of people are convinced that the convening of the Congress of People's Deputies and its decisions will, **first**, affirm glasnost, frankness, freedom of speech, and the possibility of expressing oneself honestly and fearlessly on any problem (48 percent)and, **second**, will intensify citizens' real influence on the state's policy and the state of affairs in society (35 percent). Some 26-31 percent of those polled adhere to the opposite view on these questions and approximately the same number found it difficult to define their opinion.

An analysis of public opinion attests to **the need for a more flexible and differentiated reliance on various political institutions of the country and party** with a consideration for their real prestige among the people. The majority of people link their hopes for an improvement in the state of affairs in the country with the activity of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies (68 percent), the soviets of people's deputies of all levels (61 percent), the CPSU Central Committee general secretary (59 percent), the USSR Supreme Soviet elected by the Congress (56 percent), the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet elected by the Congress (52 percent), the party as a whole (45 percent), and the next CPSU Congress (44 percent). The attitude of different categories of working people toward the party's activity, for instance, is as follows (figures as percentages of the number of those polled):

	Working people as a whole	CPSU members	Nonparty people	Party and soviet workers
with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary	59	68	53	78
with party as a whole	45	66	32	84
with next CPSU congress	44	59	34	76
with CPSU Central Committee Politburo	32	43	25	50
with CPSU Central Committee plenums	32	41	25	53
with CPSU Central Committee	30	40	23	51

That means that in the situation which has taken shape dialogue with the people is desirable today on behalf of the political institutions and political figures of society with the most authority at the present moment—the Congress of People's Deputies, the soviets of people's deputies, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the party as a whole and also with a consideration for the level of trust in the USSR Council of Ministers chairman (37 percent of those polled "link their hopes with him").

Despite the nationwide expectations and hopes connected with the convening and activity of the Congress, a considerable proportion of voters are critical of the composition of the country's deputy corps. Some 52 percent of those polled believe that only approximately

half, a minority, or even just individual deputies are worthy of their eminent title; 18 percent found it difficult to define their opinion. Those polled have the greatest trust in deputies of territorial and national-territorial okrugs.

Many working people expressed interest in the procedure and results of the election of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Chairman but it emerged that they are more worried and concerned by questions of the work of the Congress relating to problems of the internal political, legal, and economic situation in the country than they are by procedural questions:

—discussion and determination of the main avenues of the USSR's domestic policy (60 percent);
—discussion of legislative acts adopted recently which have generated a public response and debates (55 percent);
—discussion of acute questions of internal political life connected with the situation in some parts of the country (53 percent);
—election of USSR Supreme Soviet (49 percent);
—election of USSR Supreme Soviet chairman (48 percent);
—election of USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee (35 percent);
—forming of Congress' agenda (28 percent);
—election of chairman of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee (18 percent);
—discussion and determination of main avenues of the USSR's foreign policy (22 percent);
—election of first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet (14 percent).

Television Airs Second Public Opinion Poll

LD2505182489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Summary] A study of public opinion in relation to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies is being made by the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion, directed by Tatyana Zaslavskaya, and the Institute of Sociology of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Vladimir Aleksandrovich Yadov, the institute's director-organizer, says that public opinion was tested in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi and Tallinn. In Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, 42-43 percent of those asked thought that the congress would be successful and productive; in Tbilisi and Tallinn the corresponding figures were only 25 percent and 32 percent. In reply to the question of whether the congress would elect competent people to be members of the Supreme Soviet, 54-58 percent of those asked in Moscow, Leningrade and Kiev thought that this would happen, as opposed to 41 percent and 45 percent in Tbilisi and Tallinn, where 25 percent and 39 percent respectively expressed doubt.

Turning to the question of whether the congress will be able to find solutions to the ethnic problems, V. Mansurov, deputy director of the Institute of Sociology, says that 55 percent of those in Moscow think that this will happen, but this is true of only 23 percent in Tbilisi and 33 percent in Tallinn. There is also plenty of doubt about whether the congress will find any solutions to the ethnic problems: 28 percent in Moscow, 32 percent in Leningrad, and 50 percent in Tbilisi.

Yadov adds that Tbilisi registered the lowest number of those who thought that the congress would take any decisive measures to set up a law-governed state: Only 32 percent thought that it would, 27 percent were doubtful, and 17 percent disagreed. The position is better elsewhere: in Tallinn, 51 percent thought that a decisive step towards the law-governed state would be taken. Elsewhere the figure was about 60 percent.

As for the economy, about 50-59 percent thought that the economic problems would be solved; again the least certainty of this was registered in Tbilisi. There was more optimism in Tallinn. [video showed the two men being interviewed by correspondent Dmitriy Kiselev].

Congress of People's Deputies Begins Second Day

Gorbachev Chairs Opening

LD2605063189 Moscow TASS in English 0623 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—The Congress of USSR People's Deputies opened its third sitting in the Kremlin Palace of congresses at 10 a.m. today.

The sitting, chaired by USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev, is discussing the election of a new Supreme Soviet.

President's Functions Explained

LD2605074989 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The second day of the proceedings of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin began with a discussion of elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The top executive of the permanently functioning body of power is already known. It was announced late last night that Mikhail Gorbachev was elected president of the USSR Supreme Soviet by secret ballot. More than 95 per cent of the deputies voted for him.

The president of the Supreme Soviet is a new post in the Soviet governmental structure (until the election Gorbachev was the president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet). The amendments to the Constitution, which were adopted at the end of last year, defined the

president as the top executive of the Soviet Union. It is he who represents the Soviet Union in the international arena.

The president of the USSR Supreme Soviet is head of the USSR Defence Council and presents reports on the position of the country, on important issues of domestic and foreign policy and on the ensurance of the defence capacity and security of the USSR to the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet.

The president exercises overall stewardship of preparations of questions subject to consideration by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At the same time it must be recalled that the idea of vesting the top executive with presidential powers was rejected during the discussion on political reform.

Many functions traditional for the president will be performed by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For example, the Presidium calls the USSR Supreme Soviet into session, grants Soviet citizenship, decides on the granting of asylum, confers top military ranks, diplomatic ranks, and other special titles, awards orders and medals, honourary titles, and so on.

The Supreme Soviet's Presidium is not an elective body. It is formed by, amongst others, the president of the Supreme Soviet, first vice-president, 15 presidents of the Supreme Soviets of the union republics, and the chairmen of the parliament chambers.

Soviet of the Union Candidate List

LD2605110989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] The second day of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies is in progress. We are all following the progress of that work with tremendous attention and enormous interest. The first subject of our program today is congress affairs. The morning session in the Kremlin today is being chaired by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. This is how the session started.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Comrades, I declare the session open. The next matter on the agenda is the matter of the election of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. On the eve of the congress, there was a meeting of representatives. We agreed to hand out personally to the deputies what has been worked out so that they need not worry and would have it to hand and, so to speak, see all that. But the representatives agreed to give the references and make nominations for the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet on the floor. So I give the floor to Deputy Stroyev to put forward condidates for election to the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on behalf of the meeting of representatives.

[Stroyev] Comrade deputies: In accordance with the Constitution of the USSR the Soviet of the Union is being elected by the USSR people's deputies from the territorial constituencies and from among people's deputies from public organizations, taking into account the number of electors, by republic or region. The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities should have an equal number of members. In this connection, 271 USSR people's deputies must be elected to the Soviet of the Union. At the meetings of people's deputies of the USSR of the republics, krays, and oblasts, the candidates for the Supreme Soviet were discussed in detail and people's deputies were recommendced for the Soviet of the Union. All social strata and groups of our society from all the leading regions of the country will be widely represented in this chamber of the Supreme Soviet.

On the instructions of the representatives' meeting, I submit the proposal, including the list of the candidates, which you have in the ballot for the secret vote for the Soviet of the Union. If you have familiarized yourselves with this list, you will have paid attention to the fact that more candidates have been nominated by some regions—in particular Moscow—than are to be elected in accordance with the number of voters. In other regions this figure is correct. The meeting of representatives requests that the list of candidates agreed upon at its session should be examined. [end recording]

[Announcer] This is how the session started. Announcer Igor Milovanov will now tell you how it went on, briefly of course.

[Milovanov] Thank you. You know, comrades, the discussion of the issue of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR did not start immediately, because deputies Zaslavskiy, Stankevich, and others spoke on the issue of the need, after the end of the congress, to give citizens an opportunity to meet with the deputies; they proposed allocating a certain place in Moscow for such meetings and that the USSR Supreme Soviet decree on rallies and demonstrations should be suspended during the congress. USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Bakatin gave an explanation regarding this matter in respect to the rally that took place last night in Moscow. As far as a site to conduct of meetings with deputies in Moscow is concerned, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who was chairing that session, announced the decision of the Moscow Soviet to provide opportunities to hold such rallies at Luzhniki. By a majority vote the deputies decided not to suspend the enforcement of the decree on rallies and demonstrations during the congress.

The deputies then began examining problems connected with the election of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies Andreyeva, Ginsburg, Kirilov, Samarin, Borkovets, and many others took the rostrum at the congress and submitted proposals on the formation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the status of deputies, the voting procedure, and the candidates nominated. For example,

Deputy Geybu and others proposed holding elections by republics. Additional names of deputies were proposed for inclusion in the list.

The debates at the congress are continuing. Taking part in them were Deputies Konovalov, Fedorov, Boykov, Zolotukhin, (Bezbakh), Bogomolov, Murashov, Tkhor, Minzhurenko, and others.

Radio station "Mayak" and the second all-union channel of central television are broadcasting it directly from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

A break has just been announced there.

26 May Morning Session Reported

LD2605093589 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 26 May 89

[Excerpt] At the morning sitting of its second day of work, the Congress of People's Deputies began discussing elections to the Supreme Soviet of the country. This day-to-day parliament, with both executive and control powers, must be elected under the Constitution by secret ballot out of the congress deputies. The Supreme Soviet will consist of 2 houses with the same number of members, the House of the Union and the House of Nationalities.

A brief report on parliamentary elections was made by Yegor Stroyev. He said that a meeting of representatives of regional groups of deputies after a discussion on Thursday [25 May] has a motion of advancing a list of candidates with 271 deputies in each house. The future MP's [members of parliament] are factory workers, farmers, intellectuals, women, young people, and war and labor veterans—that is, a cross section of our entire society, representing all the republics and various nationalities.

A serious debate has begun at the congress on the procedure of voting and on the principles of forming the parliament. The famous eye doctor Svatoslav Fedorov has said there is no need to observe the regional principle of representation in the House of the Union. The intellect of the nation must be concentrated there. As for the interests of the republics and various ethnic groups, they will be represented in the House of Nationalities.

A number of congress deputies, including the sociologist Tatyana Zaslavskaya, have asked for an explanation of the obstacles for preventing citizens from holding rallies and meetings with deputies during the work of the congress. The home minister and officials of the Moscow authorities told the congress that starting today a permanent spot has been given for rallies at the largest sports center of the country. [passage omitted]

Deputies Discuss Ban on Rallies

LD2605151989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0555 GMT on 26 May begins a 2-hour and 9-minute live relay from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses where the Congress of People's Deputies is in session. President Gorbachev announces the next item on the agenda, the question of the election of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He says that Comrades Zaslavskaya and Samarin asked to speak and will shortly be allowed to do so. On the eve of the congress, a council of representatives had been held and had agreed to circulate among deputies what had been agreed on concerning the candidates, to enable them to see it. They had agreed that speeches could be made about the proposals for both chambers. Gorbachev called on Deputy Stroyev to speak on behalf of the delegates' council of representatives.

Zaslavskaya interjects from the audience but no microphones are there, so her comments are inaudible. Gorbachev says he will let her speak after Stroyev. Stroyev explains that the Soviet of the Union is elected by the USSR People's Deputies for the territorial electoral constituences and the public organizations as a function of the population of the territory concerned. The two chambers must be numerically equal. Consequently, 271 deputies must be elected to the Soviet of the Union. The candidates for the Supreme Soviet were discussed at meetings of constituency people's deputies, and a recommended list of candidates for the Soviet of the Union has been drawn up. The list was approved 24 May at the council of representatives. The list represents all social strata of Soviet society and all the leading regions. He proposes on behalf of the council that the list be entered on the secret ballot slips for elections to the Soviet of the Union. He notes that in some regions, including Moscow, there are more candidates than seats for the region. The council of representatives requests that the list be examined.

Gorbachev then invites Tatyana Ivanovna Zaslavskaya to speak. She says: "Esteemed comrades, I am a deputy for scientific societies and associations. I want to make an extraordinary announcement. At midnight yesterday I was telephoned by my electors and told that a meeting that had come together on Pushkin Squre to meet deputies—some congress deputies had promised to meet the electors, but they had been held up and had not arrived—so the people decided to go to the Borovitskiy Gate at the Kremlin to meet the deputies there. So, according to the reports I have, the special forces were used to dispel this meeting and made arrests. In this regard, yesterday, Deputy Adamovich, you will remember, proposed to us that the validity of the well-known decrees be suspended throughout the period of the congress's work, and in particular, until such time as the congress can look into these decrees properly and make a final decision. Unfortunately, that question was not put to the vote and, as you see, the results are unpleasant. When I arrived here, I heard that much the same thing

happened in the vicinity of the Viru Cafe, and we may suppose that it may have also happened throughout the country.

In this context, I would like to request the minister of internal affairs to explain the situation to us. Why were such measures taken? That's one question. Second, I believe that we should put to the vote and decide the question of suspending the validity of the antidemocratic decrees for the entire period of the congress's work. Third, we simply must settle this question and finally examine it in substance, obviously, taking account of the agenda we have adopted. That's what I wanted to say. Thank you for listening."

Gorbachev says: In connection with Comrade Zaslavskaya's speech, is it proposed to request the minister to answer the questions today? Shouts of yes come from the audience. Now I don't know whether, is the minister, Comrade Bakatin, here or not? Can you report now? Please come up.

Bakatin comes to the podium and says: Esteemed comrade deputies! In connection with Comrade Zaslavskaya's request I can report that in the country as a whole the first day of the congress's work was very positively welcomed, but not in the same way everywhere. In many regions—I won't list them here, virtually throughout the country—there have been meetings, unorganized meetings, among electors discussing the progress of the congress which, as you know, was broadcast live, in its entirety. No one was arrested anywhere and no one was dispelled, and no special forces were used for that. I say that in full knowledge of the facts. As regards the unauthorized meeting which a number of Moscow citizens had previously intended to hold near the Viru Cafe, on Pushkin Square—even yesterday announcements were posted in Moscow, near metro stations, inviting comrades to the meeting—it was not allowed by the Moscow City soviet, and the Moscow militia was advised to ban it. However, after taking the advice of the leadership here, we decided to let them hold it, and the comrades held that meeting. The militia did not interfere in the meeting, no action was taken, and no one was arrested after the meeting. One of the deputies, I think it was Stankevich but I may be wrong, was there, and I think he met and spoke with them. In response to an indistinct comment from the hall, Bakatin says: Yes, and Comrade Sakharov was there. I don't know whether the militia stopped your meeting. After another indistinct comment from hall he says: I think that (?at any rate) strict orders were given not to hinder the meetings with deputies but, on the contrary, to help them. As regards, however, the wish at one point of that crowd—perhaps that's not the right way to say it—these citizens decided to go to the Borovitskiy gate, to the Kremlin, to, well, apparently, to meet deputies. Now these actions were stopped because they are simply not allowed. Because there is a certain set of regulations for the protection of Red Square, and there are meetings in the Kremlin Palace, and we are obliged to implement the system that is defined by those who are responsible for the security and conduct of the Congress of Deputies.

Applause is heard from the hall, then Gorbachev asks: Are there any questions for Comrade Bakatin? A question? Well, OK, is there a question? (Calls from hall). Yes? An indistinct question is shouted from the hall, followed by applause. Bakatin answers: "Well, as regards the hotel, you know that there is no militia in the hotels."

Over sounds of action in the hall, Gorbachev says: "Comrade Bakatin, Comrade Bakatin, that's it, thank you. You can go."

An unidentified deputy comes to the podium and says that in the early hours of today he and another deputy went to see the meetings. He couldn't comment on whether there had been arrests. He says: "But what I can say about the militia's actions is that they were provocative in that they gave rise to tension. Why? The square was surrounded, surrounded, and no one was being let through to the meeting, and such tough action by the militia causes dissatisfaction, clashes and so on. I draw attention to this."

Above shouts from the hall Gorbachev says: "Comrades, please be orderly. Comrade Sakharov, just a minute; Comrade Stankevich, please.

Stankevich shouts from the hall: Deputy Stankevich. I would like to make a very short comment. I was indeed at the meeting, but after midnight, and what happened there earlier, what happened there earlier, I can't say. After all, our work was over, after midnight, I was there. There were about 2,000 people there, they were packed together on the square and they were indeed very closely surrounded by the militia. In general, I think I'm describing the factual situation, comrades." Shouts from the hall are heard. "Moreover, moreover, as far as I know I was asked to make my comment."

Gorbachev interrupts: "I will tell you that we will proceed slowly if we behave like this."

Stankevich says: "As far as I know, I was asked to comment, and I ask that respect be shown to deputies."

Gorbachev says: "Fine." Shouts are heard from the hall.

Stankevich says: "The antidemocratic practice of hindering speeches is intolerable at this congress."

Gorbachev says: "Good, Comrade Stankevich."

Stankevich replies: "Are you talking to me"? After more shouting from the hall he says: "I officially request the chairman to stop the antidemocratic practice which is becoming a fashion at this congress, unfortunately. It is a disgrace. I have been sent here by 380,000 electors, you have no right to (?cut me off)."

Gorbachev says: "I think we should, after all, respect the rules we have set, the presidium we have entrusted, and I have now entered on the new rights of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet with which I've been entrusted. Permit me, I will try to ensure that this process goes ahead in organized manner and does not turn into a farce here in Moscow. Comrade Stankevich, conclude, please."

Stankevich says: "I'm ending. And so, I didn't see the meeting being dispelled, the meeting wasn't dispelled, the meeting took place, and none the less I think we have to take some action. Places have to be designated in Moscow where citizens can gather, learn the news, meet deputies—that's absolutely essential for the congress to work normally. I make this request."

Deputy Fillipov from Komi comes to the podium and says he witnessed the events. The militia did indeed arrest people, "but they arrested drunks." The artificial tension was stopping the congress working normally.

Then Gorbachev calls on Sakharov to speak. He approaches the podium and says: "A girl rang me from the meeting. She was weeping. She was weeping after..." His words are drowned by noise from the hall. He continues: "The meeting was surrounded by the militia. (?I didn't go there right away) I didn't feel very well yesterday. But I did go there, after Stankevich. I spoke to those people, the ones who were left there. It was a very good, substantive discussion about the problems of the congress, about all the things that are disturbing people. They are our young people, our future, these people. They are people who are actively interested in the congress and everything, and they asked us to meet them on that square, at the same place, every day after the congress. Every deputy who wants to meet our young people can do that, there will be questions, there will be discussions, there may be quarrels, but that is what we should seek; we cannot separate ourselves from the people and we cannot surround the people with the Dzerzhinskiy division—the one that was in Tbilisi and that is now showing its potential force—in this case potential, but we know what they did there. And girls and boys receive a lesson, a negative lesson in Soviet democracy. We cannot permit that. I join in Deputy Zaslavskaya's proposal that for the period of the congress the validity of the antidemocratic laws about meetings and demonstrations be suspended; to ensure order, but not to hinder these meetings and demonstrations. And no [word indistinct] during the congress, at least, and what happens next we should discuss; during the congress there should be none. We would be compromising the congress that way, too."

Deputy Akbarov from Uzbekistan comes to the podium and calls on the congress to stop the demagogy and get back to the business they've been sent there to do.

At 0626 GMT Gorbachev calls for a vote on whether to continue the discussion, asking for a show of cards. He says the vote in favor of continuing is a clear minority, so the discussion is ended. He says: "Now, there is a proposal to take note of the minister's reply on the question by Deputy Zaslavskaya. No objections? No. One other thing. There is a proposal that Moscow City Soviet be required, in light of this discussion...[he changes thought] I think an opportunity must be given, but the problem is that Pushkin Square, where everything's jumbled up, at the crossroads; there are these crushes and clashes, and so on. In the Luzhniki area, for instance, there are ample opportunities. Incidentally, meetings were held there until very recently before the congress, and they went on. I think Moscow Soviet should think this over and solve the problem so that people know where they can gather, where they can meet the deputies and ask them questions, although we are trying, you know, to have everything broadcast live. That's the first thing. Second, let's consider that we will not call the issue into doubt, now, it's a special question; we will discuss, as we've said, at the congress, what should be done about those decrees. But I think that we will agree that people who want can hold meetings, but order must be observed and they mustn't damage anything." An exchange follows between Gorbachev and the audience about whether to vote on suspending the law on meetings. Gorbachev goes on: "Who is in favor of this decree on meetings being suspended during the congress? Those in favor, please vote now. Count them, comrades." The vote in favor is announced as 831. Gorbachev adds, reading a note: "While the comrades are counting, Comrade Zaykov writes that this morning the question of holding meetings was discussed by the Moscow City Soviet. It was decided that during the congress meetings should be permitted in Luzhniki. The vote against the resolution is 1,261. A brief discussion of procedural matters concerning the general running of the congress follows. Then Deputy Samsonov asks why he was not invited to the meetings; why the authorities had not been informed of the meeting; and why it had to be held in Pushkin Square. Gorbachev then calls for the congress to move ahead on the main question and close this discussion. At 0804 GMT the relay ends.

Congress Composition Discussed

LD2605100489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 26 May 89

[Unidentified correspondent's report from the Kremlin Palace of Congress in Moscow—live or recorded]

[Text] Fifteen minutes ago, after a short break, the Congress of USSR People's Deputies continued its work. Over to the all-union radio correspondent at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

[Correspondent] The deputies are in the process of discussing a very important issue on the procedure of election and composition of one of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet: the Soviet of the Union. Two hundred

and seventy-one delegates are to be elected there; the same number of people will constitute the Soviet of Nationalities.

During the discussion, the speakers are voicing many different points of view. There have been many speeches. How are the majority of those who took the floor inclined? They believe that each region and republic should be represented in the Supreme Soviet proportionately to its population, but at the same time say that the Supreme Soviet should be elected by all people's deputies. Many insist that each delegation should nominate more delegates in the voting list that the number of seats allocated to it.

Another very important issue is under discussion: People's deputies say that those who are included in the Supreme Soviet will have to abandon the posts they hold now to concentrate all of their attention on parliamentary activities.

One observation by a journalist. I feel that not even with each new day or each new session, but with every hour, the culture of political debate at the congress is growing. There are fewer and fewer people now repeating what someone said before them; the work of the congress has become smoother. Over the last 2 hours, I do not recall a single attempt by any of the delegates to seize the floor, to come up the microphone before the floor is granted by the chairman. Yesterday, as you may recall it was, unfortunately, different. I believe that we used to say too often that we had to learn democracy, while doing too little real learning. At the congress, the training in that difficult but very interesting school is done very quickly. But let us not rush too far ahead. The congress is continuing its work, I am repeating that at the moment the discussion of the issue of elections to the Soviet of the Union, one of the two equal chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies Pisarenko, Grishchuk, Karaganov, and Sagdeyev have already spoken, and deputy Kudryavtsev is on the rostrum now. I would like to remind you of the fact that Mayak radio is conducting a continuous live relay from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. You can listen to it.

Professional Duties Release Approved

LD2605102989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] A break has now been announced at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Today the deputies began discussing the matter of electing the USSR Supreme Soviet. At the morning session they discussed problems of forming the country's Supreme Soviet, the status of the deputy, and the order of voting. With a majority of votes the congress adopted a proposal according to which deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet will be as a rule released from their professional obligations. Mayak radio will continue the relay from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at 1600 [1200 GMT].

Methods of Electing Supreme Soviet

LD2605112889 Moscow TASS in English 1109 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

The Congress of USSR People's Deputies, in its second day of work in the Kremlin, is discussing elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Deputies are debating a wide range of issues: how to distinguish the rights of people's deputies and deputies of the Supreme Soviet, whether Supreme Soviet members should sit in parliament on a full-time basis or whether they should retain their previous jobs, whether candidates should be elected on a republican basis or by the whole congress, and so on.

Many proposals were made on ways to form one of the parliament's two chambers: the Council of the Union. This chamber is formed on the basis of the principle of proportional representation.

The principles of representation in the other chamber, the Council of Nationalities, are clearly specified in the Constitution.

Each of the chambers will include 271 deputies.

Prominent physician Svyatoslav Fedorov proposed that the Council of the Union include not representatives of ragional groups but "people with a clear-cut civic position," who will uphold the interests of the whole nation.

However, Vitautas Statuliavicius from Lithuania proposed electing deputies to the Council of the Union not by the whole congress but by republican delegations, and endorsing the delegations' protocols later by congress.

Statuliavicius supported his proposal by saying it would not be right to vote for candidates one does not know.

The issue of the number of candidates to the Supreme Soviet also provoked keen debate. Most delegations submitted the lists of their candidates whose number matched the quotas set for them in the Supreme Soviet.

The Moscow group nominated 55 candidates for 29 seats. Moscow Deputy Arkadiy Murashev said: "We have no claims to extra seats in the Supreme Soviet. By proposing alternative candidates we express confidence in the congress."

The congress discussed whether deputies holding high party and state posts can be elected to the Supreme Soviet. Some speakers said that the fulfilment by such deputies of their official deputies and the months-long work at the Supreme Soviet are incompatible.

A number of deputies proposed defining the differences in status of a people's deputy and a Supreme Soviet member, as well as the limits of powers of the congress and the Supreme Soviet, before the elections begin.

Moscow writer Fedor Burlatskiy, who was the last to speak before the interval, said that the congress is facing not only differences in views but also differences in interests of various sections of society and various nationalities.

He opposed confrontation and called for compromise. The deputy proposed combining the territorial principle of nominating candidates with a "reasonable principle of personal selection."

Vote on Professional Status Issue

LD2605120789 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent: The second day of the congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin continued the discussion of elections to the new permanently functioning body of power—the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The main contentious issues manifested themselves in the morning during the first hour of debate. They concern how to differentiate between the rights of a people's deputy and a member of the Supreme Soviet, whether Supreme Soviet members should be relieved of their previous jobs or may remain working simultaneously performing the duties of a deputy, and now should candidates be voted for—by republics or by the entire congress.

No new positions emerged during the second part of the debate. Speakers voiced additional arguments in favour of their or that point of view.

Noteworthy were speeches made by two academicians, Roald Sagdeyev and Vladimir Kudryavtsev. Both scientists believe that the Supreme Soviet should consist of professional politicians. Kudryavtsev, a prominent lawyer and vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, emphasised that some scientists declined to stand for the Supreme Soviet precisely because they did not want to give up their scientific work.

Vladimir Giro, a deputy from Tadzhikistan, insisted on the need to relieve members of the USSR Supreme Soviet of their previous jobs. On behalf of his republic's delegation the deputy stated that Tadzhikistan leaders consented to give up their jobs if elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Nevertheless, a greater proportion of deputies favoured the other formula, namely, that members of the Supreme Soviet shall be, as a rule, relieved of their main job only for the period of activities in the Supreme Soviet, with 1,419 deputies voting for it, and 636 deputies voting in favour of relieving Supreme Soviet members of their previous jobs completely.

During the discussion Mikhail Gorbachev, who presided over the session, received many messages concerning a point of order. Metropolitan Pitirim, for example, suggested that the speakers' time-limit should be monitored more strictly, including switching the microphone off.

While approving of the lack of constraint of the deputies, the metropolitan voiced regret in connection with some avoidable delays in the proceedings. The remarks by one of the hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church met with sustained applause.

Following a two-hour recess, the congress is finally to decide on a procedure for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Warsaw Television Reports Yeltsin, Sakharov Views

LD2505184689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 May 89

[No video available]

[Excerpts] Our correspondent gained the opinions of the participants in the Congress [of People's Deputies of the USSR]:

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Boris Yeltsin, in Russian, fading into Polish translation] I expected something much worse. The point is that the [party] apparatus knows how to work, it is consolidated and was able to set the voting machine in motion trying to infringe democracy. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Andrey Sakharov, in Russian, fading into Polish translation] Poland and Russia [as heard] have always had mutual problems. They were not only clashes, but just common matters. The matters uniting us: The revolutionary struggle against tsarism and later the common fight against Stalinism. Both the Russian and Georgian nation suffered because of Stalin, all nations in our state [suffered]. That is why one cannot treat the Katyn forest tragedy as a sign of the Russians hostility toward the Poles. [end recording]